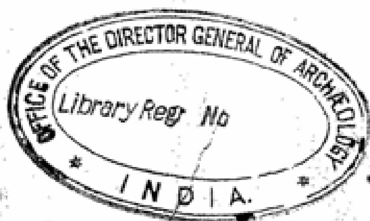
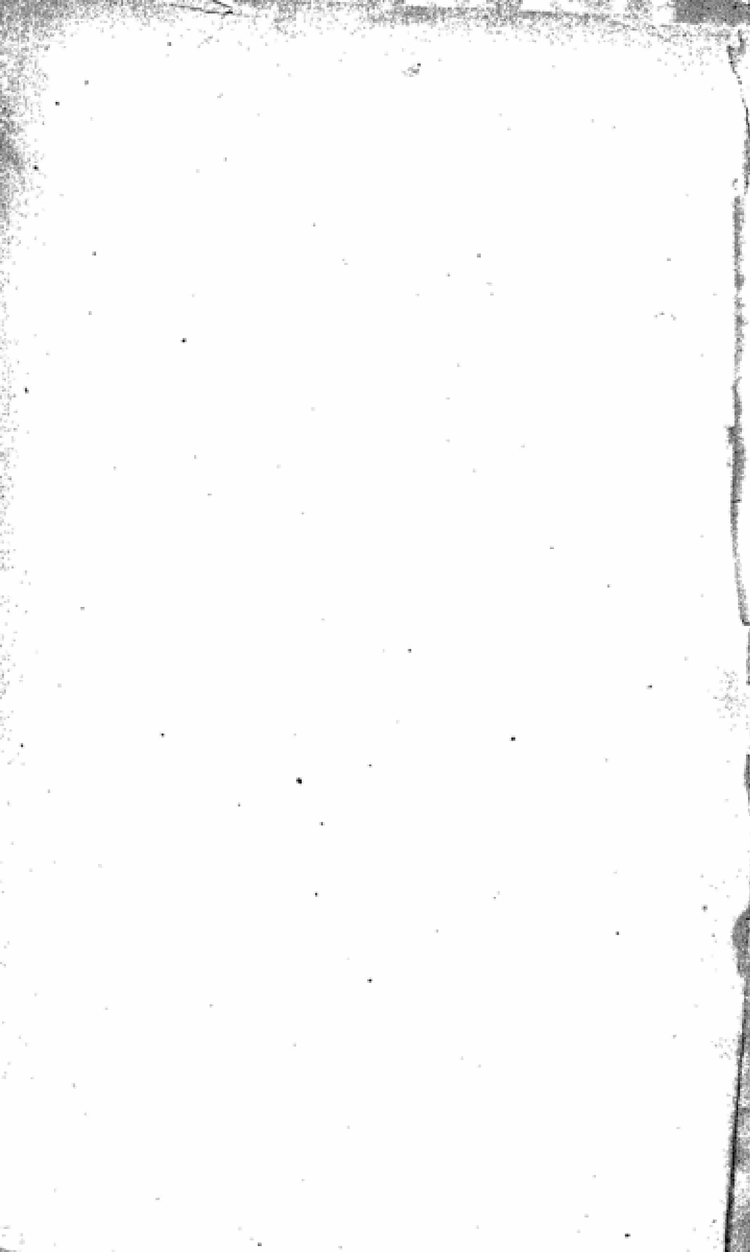
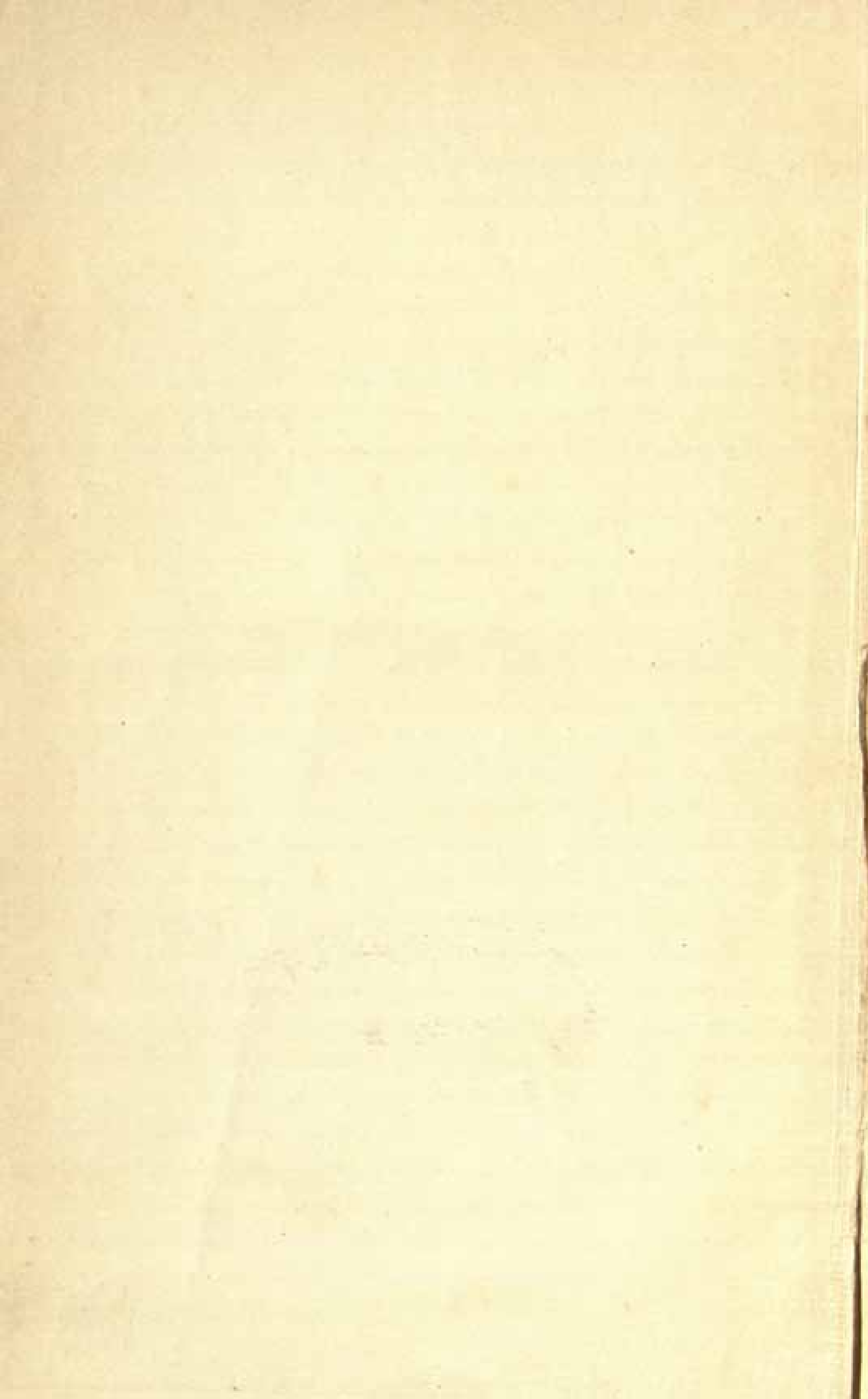

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TRIVANDRUM SANSKRIT SERIES.
No. XXXIX.

THE CHÂRUDATTA

OF

BHÂSA

EDITED WITH NOTES

BY

T. GANAPATI SÂSTRÎ

Curator of the Department for the publication of Sanskrit manuscripts, Trivandrum.

Bhasa's works:—No. 12

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THE STORY OF EXPLORATION

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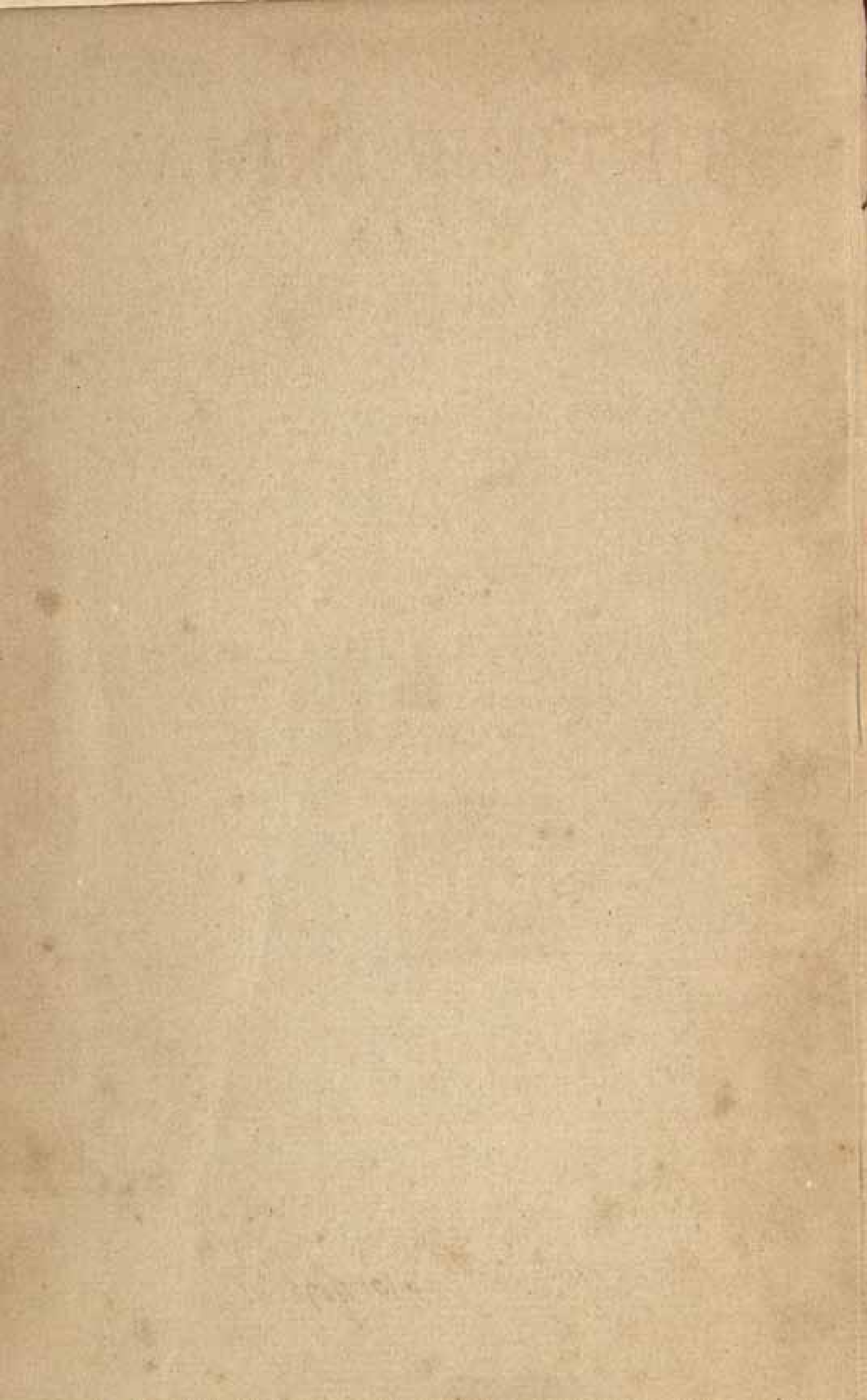
J. SCOTT KELTIE, LL.D., Sec. R.G.S.

FURTHER INDIA

BY

HUGH CLIFFORD, C.M.G.





अनन्तशयनसंस्कृतग्रन्थावलिः ।

ग्रन्थाङ्कः ३९.

चारुदत्तं

महाकविश्रीभासप्रणीतं

संस्कृतग्रन्थप्रकाशनकार्याध्यक्षेण

त. गणपतिशास्त्रिणा

संशोधितं

लघुटिप्पण्या च संयोजितम् ।

भासनाटकचक्रे द्वादशम् ।



तच्च

अनन्तशयने

महामहिमश्रीमूलकरामवर्मकुलशेखरमहाराजशासनेन

राजकीयमुद्रणयन्त्रालये

मुद्रयित्वा प्रकाशितम् ।

कोलम्बाब्दाः १०८९, क्रैस्ताब्दाः १९१४.

FURTHER INDIA

BEING

THE STORY OF EXPLORATION FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES IN BURMA, MALAYA, SIAM, AND INDO-CHINA

BY

HUGH CLIFFORD, C.M.G.

AUTHOR OF "IN COURT AND KAMPONG," "STUDIES IN BROWN HUMANITY," "BUSH-WHACKING," ETC., ETC.

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS FROM DRAWINGS, PHOTOGRAPHS, AND MAPS

AND MAPS BY J. G. BARTHOLOMEW



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Bungay, Suffolk.

PREFACE.

The edition of the work is based on two palm-leaf manuscripts. They are written in Malayalam characters and are about three or four centuries old, marked in the footnotes as क and ख. The manuscript क belongs to the Library of Manalikkara Matham near Padmanabhapuram in South Travancore, and is full of errors. The other manuscript ख which is comparatively free from errors was obtained from Mr. Nîlakanthan Châkyâr of Mângânam near Kottayam. Both the manuscripts contain neither the benedictory verse at the beginning nor the "*Bharatavâkya*", on the closing verse, at the end, while the manuscript क has the colophon "अवसितं चारुदत्तम्" at the end.

It has already been observed in the introduction of Svapnavâsavadatta, that the play Chârudatta forms the nucleus of the famous Mrichchhakatika of Sûdraka. As regards the plot, the first Acts of the two plays differ very little except that Vasantasenâ is pursued by two persons in the Chârudatta, while she is pursued in the Mrichchhakatika by three persons, namely Vita, Cheta and Sakara. In the second Act of the Chârudatta are not found the characters, Mâthura, Dyûtakara and Darduraka of the Mrichchhakatika, and the Shampooer leaves Vasantasenâ to turn a "*Parivrâṭ*" but not a "Sâkya Sramaṇaka" as in Mrichchhakatika. In the third Act, the plot is the same in both the plays. In the fourth, when Vasantasenâ has overheard the conversation between Madanikâ and Sajjalaka, Vidûshaka steps in to carry out his mission; and Sajjalaka appears before Vasantasenâ only after Vidûshaka is gone, unlike in Mrichchhakatika.

It may be noted that no reference to the story of Âryaka and Pâlaka is found anywhere in Chârudatta. The ideas tersely expressed in Chârudatta are expanded at greater length by

TO

DÊMS

This book is lovingly dedicated, in memory of the days during which it was written.—H. C.



Sûdraka. For instance the Chârudatta contains only the three following verses having meaningless repetitions and wrong allusions of Sakâra:—

"किं याशि धावाशि पथावशि पक्खलन्ती
शाहुप्पशीद ण मळीअशि चिट्ठ दाव।
कामेण शम्पदि हि जज्झइ मे शळीळं
अङ्गाळमज्झपडिदें विअ चम्मखण्डे॥"

"किं वाशुदेवे शद्दपट्टशेण कुन्तिशुदे वा जणमेजए वा।
अहं तुमं गह्णिअ केशहत्थे दुश्शाशळे शीदमिवाहळामि॥"

"एशा हि वाशू शिळशिग्गहीदा केशेशु वाळेशु शिळोरुहेशु।
कूजाहि कन्दाहि ळवाहि वाचं महेश्शळं शङ्कळमिश्शळं वा॥"

Similarly, the description of the mansion of Vasantasenâ by Vidûshaka is couched in the following words in the Chârudatta:—

"(प्रविश्य)

विदूषकः— (सर्वतो विलोक्य) अहो गणिआवाडस्स सस्सिरीअदा। णाणापट्टणसमागदेहि आआमिएहि पुत्तआ वाईअन्ति। संओजअन्ति अ आहारप्पआराणि। वीणा वादाअन्ति। सुवण्णआरा अळङ्कारप्पआराणि आदरेण जोजअन्ति।"

While Sûdraka has dragged on the above description, to a tedious length in Mrichchhakatika.

As regards the textual differences in the plays it is found that some of the verses occuring in Chârudatta are copied as such in Mrichchhakatika, some are adapted with a little variation, a few are omitted and a good many verses are also newly added by Sûdraka.

In the prose passages of Mrichchhakatika similar additions and alterations are observable throughout the four Acts.

TRIVANDRUM. T. GANAPATI SÂSTRÎ.

निवेदना ।

चारुदत्तस्य संशोधनाधारभूतौ द्वावादर्शौ । तत्रैकः क. संज्ञो मणलिक्करकल्पकमङ्गलमठीयोऽशुद्धिबहुलः, अन्यः कोट्टयान्तर्गतमाङ्ङानस्थनीलकण्ठशाक्यारसकाशादधिगतस्तदपेक्षया शुद्धः ख. संज्ञः । द्वावपि जीर्णतालपत्रात्मकौ केरलीयलिपी संभावनीयत्रिचतुरशतवर्षवार्धकौ च ।

अनयोर्मङ्गलश्लोको भरतवाक्यं च न लिखिते । किन्तु क. संज्ञस्यादर्शस्यान्ते "अवसितं चारुदत्तम्" इति लिखितमस्ति ।

अनन्तशयनम्. त. गणपतिशास्त्री.



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महाकविश्रीभासप्रणीतं

चारुदत्तम् ।

(नान्द्यन्ते ततः प्रविशति सूत्रधारः)

सूत्रधारः— (क) किण्णुखु अज्ज पचूस एव्व गेहादो णिक्खन्तस्य बुभुक्खाए पुक्खरपत्तपडिदजळविन्दू विअ चञ्चळाअन्ति विअ मे अक्खीणि। (परिक्रम्य) जाव गेहं गच्छिअ जाणामि किण्णुहु संविधा विहिदा ण वेत्ति । (परिक्रम्य) एदं अह्माणं गेहं । जाव पविसामि । (प्रविश्यावलोक्य) जह ळोहीपरिवट्टणकाळसारा भूमी (णेउब्भामणसुगन्धो विअ गन्धो सुणिमित्तं विअ?) परिब्भमन्तो वडिवस्सअजणो । किण्णुखु संविधा विहिदा । आदु बुभुक्खाए ओदणमअं विअ जीवळोअं पेक्खामि । जाव अय्यं सद्दावेमि । अय्ये! इदो दाव ।

(क) किन्नुखल्वद्य प्रत्यूष एव गेहान्निष्कान्तस्य बुभुक्षया पुष्करपत्रपतितजलबिन्दू इव चञ्चलायेते इव मेऽक्षिणी । यावद् गेहं गत्वा जानामि किन्नुखलु संविधा विहिता न वेति । एतदस्माकं गेहम् । यावत् प्रविशामि । यथा लोहीपरिवर्तनकालसारा भूमिः (णेउब्भामणसुगन्धो विअ गन्धो सुणिमित्तं विअ?) परिभ्रमन् वरिवस्यकजनः । किन्नुखलु संविधा विहिता । अथवा बुभुक्षयौदनमयमिव जीवलोकं पश्यामि । यावदार्यां शब्दापयामि । आर्ये! इतस्तावत् ।

(प्रविश्य)

नटी—(क) अय्य! इअह्मि । अय्य! दिट्ठिआ खु सि आअदो ।

सूत्रधारः—(ख) अय्ये! किं अत्थि अह्माणं गेहे को वि पादरासो ।

नटी—(ग) अत्थि ।

सूत्रधारः—(घ) चिरं जीव । एवं सोभणाणि भोअणाणि दत्तिआ होहि ।

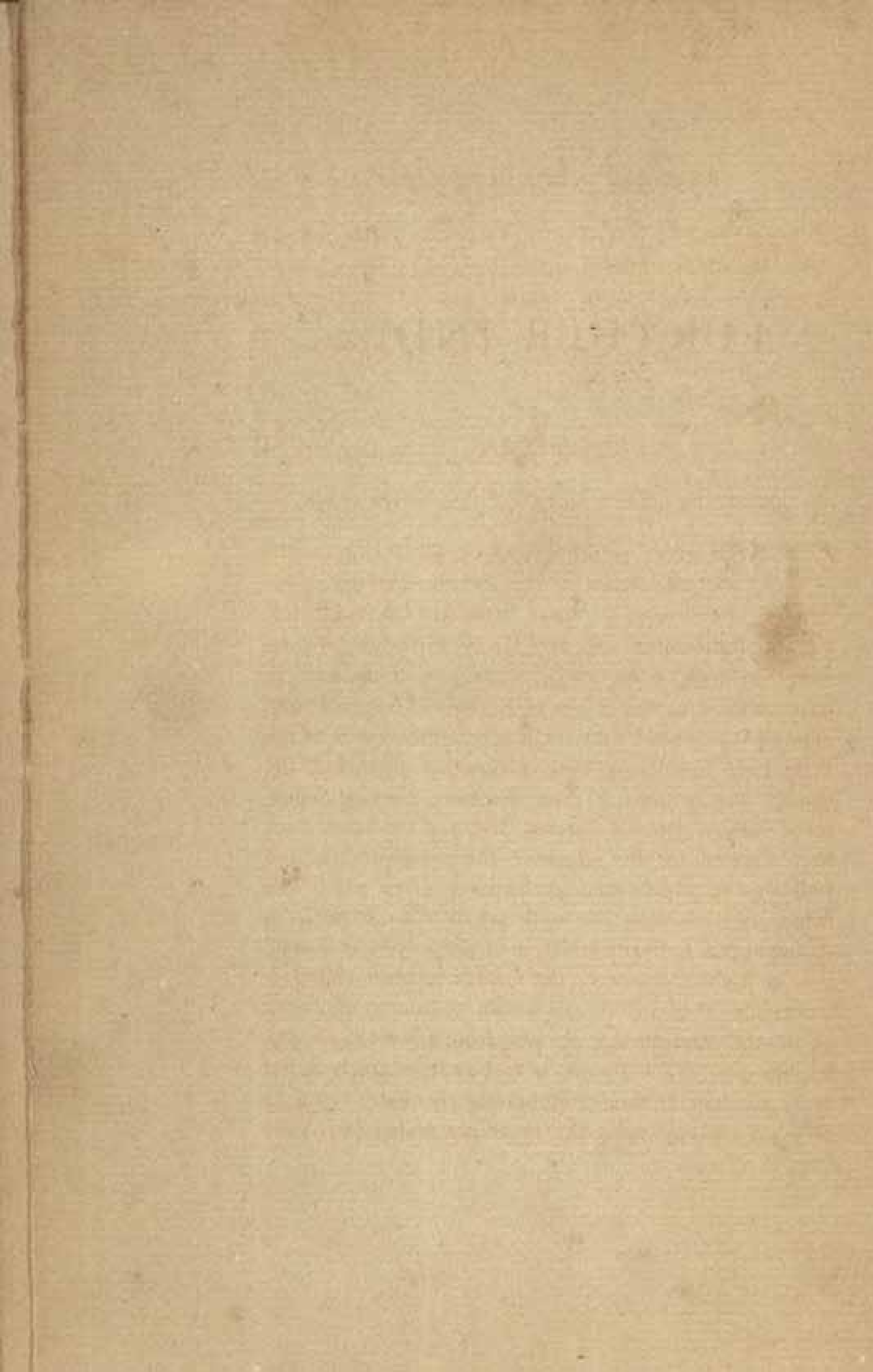
नटी—(ङ) अय्य! तुवं एव पडिवाळन्ती चिट्ठामि ।

सूत्रधारः—(च) अय्ये! किं अत्थि अब्भत्थिदं ।

नटी—(छ) अत्थि ।

सूत्रधारः—(ज) एवं देवा तुमं अस्सासअन्तु । अय्ये! किं किं ।

(क) आर्य! इयमस्मि । आर्य! दिष्ट्या खल्वसि आगतः ।
(ख) आर्ये! किमस्त्यस्माकं गेहे कोऽपि प्रातराशः ।
(ग) अस्ति ।
(घ) चिरं जीव । एवं शोभनानि भोजनानि दात्री भव ।
(ङ) आर्य! त्वामेव प्रतिपालयन्ती तिष्ठामि ।
(च) आर्ये! किमस्त्यभ्यर्थितम् ।
(छ) अस्ति ।
(ज) एवं देवास्त्वामाश्वासयन्तु । आर्ये! किं किम् ।



नटी—(क) घिदं गुळं दहिं तण्डुळा अ अत्थि ।

सूत्रधारः—(ख) एदं सव्वं अह्माणं गेहे अत्थि ।

नटी—(ग) णहि णहि । अन्तळावणे ।

सूत्रधारः—(सरोषम्) (घ) आः अणय्ये! एवं दे आसा छिन्दीअदु । अभावं च गमिस्ससि । अहं चण्डप्पवादळ*-ण्डुओ[१] विअ वरण्डी पव्वदादो दूरं आरोविअ पाडिदो ह्मि ।

नटी—(ङ) मा भाआहि मा भाआहि । मुहुत्तअं पडिवाळेदु अय्यो । सव्वं सज्जं भविस्सदि । ळद्धं णाम एदं । अज्ज मम उववासस्स अय्यो सहायो होदु ।

सूत्रधारः—(च) किण्णामहेओ अय्याए उववासो ।

(क) घृतं गुडो दधि तण्डुलश्चास्ति ।

(ख) एतत् सर्वमस्माकं गेहेऽस्ति ।

(ग) नहि नहि । अन्तरापणे ।

(घ) आः अनार्ये! एवं ते आशा छिद्यताम् । अभावं च गमिष्यसि । अहं चण्डप्रवातलण्डित इव वरण्डः पर्वताद् दूरमारोप्य पातितोऽस्मि ।

(ङ) मा बिभिहि मा बिभिहि । मुहूर्तकं प्रतिपालयत्वार्यः । सर्वं सज्जं भविष्यति । लब्धं नामैतत् । अद्य ममोपवासस्यार्यः सहायो भवतु ।

(च) किन्नामधेय आर्याया उपवासः ।

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१. 'ळड्डुओ' ख. पाठः.

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* 'ळण्डिओ विअ वरण्डो' इति पाठो भवेत् । 'लण्डित इव वरण्डः' इति च संस्कृतम् । लण्डितः उत्क्षिप्तः । वरण्डस्तृणसञ्चयः ।



FURTHER INDIA

CHAPTER I

CHRYSE THE GOLDEN AND THE CHERSONESUS AUREA

THE great peninsula which forms the south-eastern corner of the Asiatic continent, comprising, as we know it to-day, Burma, Siam, French Indo-China and the Malay Peninsula, will be found, in comparison with other regions of the East, to have suffered at the hands of Europeans from a wholly unmerited neglect. Latterly, it is true, the Powers of the West have been busy here, as in other quarters of the world; but in spite of their new-born political importance only a languid interest has, for the most part, been excited in the countries themselves and in the problems to which their affairs have given rise. The failure of the lands of southeastern Asia to make a strong appeal to the imagination of the peoples of Europe is to be ascribed, however, not to their intrinsic unimportance, nor yet to any lack of wealth, of beauty, of charm, or of the interest that springs from a mysterious and mighty past. The reason is to be sought solely in the mere accident of their geographical position. Lying as they do midway upon the great sea-route which leads

नटी—(क) अभिरूववदी णाम ।

सूत्रधारः—(ख) किं अण्णजादीए ।

नटी—(ग) आम ।

सूत्रधारः—(घ) सव्वं दाव चिट्ठदु । को णु दाणि अ-य्याए उववासस्स उवदेसिओ ।

नटी—(ङ) इमिणा वेडिवस्सएण चुण्णगोट्ठेण ।

सूत्रधारः—(च) साहु चुण्णगोट्ठ! साहु ।

नटी—(छ) जइ अय्यस्स अणुग्गहो, तदो इच्छेअं अह्मारिसजणजोग्गं कञ्चि बह्मणं णिमन्तेदुं ।

सूत्रधारः—(ज) धम्मिट्ठो खु णिओओ । तेण पादरासो

(क) अभिरूपपतिर्नाम ।

(ख) किमन्यजात्याम् ।

(ग) आम ।

(घ) सर्वं तावत् तिष्ठतु । कोन्विदानीमार्याया उपवासस्योपदेशिकः ।

(ङ) अनेन वरिवस्यकेन चूर्णगोष्ठेन ।

(च) साधु चूर्णगोष्ठ! साधु ।

(छ) यद्यार्यस्यानुग्रहः, तत इच्छेयमस्मादृशजनयोग्यं कञ्चिद् ब्राह्मणं निमन्त्रयितुम् ।

(ज) धर्मिष्ठः खलु नियोगः । तेन प्रातराशोऽपि मे भविष्यति । यद्येवं, प्रवि-

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1. 'पडिवेस्स' ख. पाठः.

from India to China, it has been the fate of these countries to be overshadowed from the beginning by the immensity and the surpassing fascination of their mighty neighbours. Thus, even when India and Cathay had emerged at last from the nebulous haze of myth, superstition and conjecture with which the imaginations of Europeans had early enshrouded them, southeastern Asia continued to be wrapped in obscurity, such knowledge of it as was possessed being practically confined to a bare acquaintance with its coast-lines, with a few ports of call, and with the seas traversed by ships in their passage from the shores of Malabar to the southern provinces of China. Similarly, in our own time, while every schoolboy can point out Canton or Peking, Delhi or Peshwur, as a matter of course, not one educated man in fifty can put his finger unhesitatingly upon the spot on the map which represents Chieng Tong or Bhamo, Pahang or Pnom-Penh. The real exploration of this region, beyond the limits of a narrow zone of coastlands, was not accomplished until during the latter half of the nineteenth century, while the work done in this direction by Francis Garnier and a host of smaller men is even less known in these islands than are the localities in which their labours were performed.

It is not easy to realise to how late a period in their history the Greeks remained in almost total ignorance of the Eastern world, or indeed of any inhabited lands lying at a distance from the seaboard of the Mediterranean. It was not until the invasion of Xerxes forced the fact upon

त्ति मे भविस्सदि । जइ एव्वं, पविसदु अय्या । अहं वि अ-
ह्मारिसजणजोग्गं कम्वि बह्मणं अण्णेसामि ।

नटी—(क) जं अय्यो आणवेदि । (निष्कान्ता ।)

सूत्रधारः—(ख) कहिण्णुखु दरिद्दबह्मणं लभेअं । (विलो-
क्य) एसो अय्यचारुदत्तस्स वअस्सो अय्यमेत्तेओ णाम बह्म-
णो इदो एव्व आअच्छदि । जाव उवणिवन्तेमि । (परिक्रम्य)
अय्य! णिमन्तिदो सि । आमन्तणस्स मा दरिद्द त्ति मं अव-
मण्णेहि । सम्पण्णं अह्निदव्वं भविस्सदि । घिदं गुळं दहि
तण्डुला अ सव्वं अत्थि । अविअ दक्खिणमासआणि
भविस्सन्ति ।

(नेपथ्ये)

(ग) अण्णं अण्णं णिमन्तेदु दाव भवं । अरित्तओ
दाव अहं ।

शत्वार्या । अहमप्यस्मादृशजनयोग्यं कश्चिद् ब्राह्मणमन्वेषे ।

(क) यदार्य आज्ञापयति ।

(ख) कुत्रनुखलु दरिद्रब्राह्मणं लभेय । एष आर्यचारुदत्तस्य वयस्य आर्यमै-
त्रेयो नाम ब्राह्मण इत एवागच्छति । यावदुपनिमन्त्रयामि । आर्य! निमन्त्रि-
तोऽसि । आमन्त्रणस्य मा दरिद्र इति माम् अवमन्यस्व । सम्पन्नमशि-
तव्यं भविष्यति । घृतं गुडो दधि तण्डुलश्च सर्वमस्ति । अपिच दक्षिणामाषका
भविष्यन्ति ।

(ग) अन्यमन्यं निमन्त्रयतु तावद् भवान् । अरिक्तकस्तावदहम् ।

their attention in uncompromising wise that they completely grasped the proximity of Persia. Hecatæus of Miletus, who wrote between 520 and 500 B. C., is the first of the ancients to make mention of India and the Indus by name, and Megasthenes, who was in the service of the Syrian King, Seleucus Nicanor, during the third century B. C., was the earliest writer to extend the western acquaintance with the East to the banks of the Ganges. He traversed the great peninsula from the Indus to the former river by means of what he describes as "the royal road"—probably the first of the grand trunk-roads of India—crossed successively the Sutlej and the Jumna, and descended the Ganges to Palibothra, a town at the mouth of the Sone which was the capital of a king called Sandracottus (Chandra-gupta). He brought back with him much detailed information concerning the country, its people and its products, and he speaks of cinnamon and other spices as being imported from the southern parts of India, which may possibly be an indication of the existence, even in his time, of the spice-trade of the Malayan Archipelago.

It was not, however, until after the beginning of our era that the first, faintest hint reached Europe concerning the existence of lands lying to the east of the Ganges. It is found in the writings of Pomponius Mela, whose date can be fixed from internal evidence at A. D. 43, which make mention of a headland named Tabis, described by the author as the most easterly extremity of Asia, and of another, apparently further to the south, called Tamus. Off the latter lay Chryse, or the Golden

सूत्रधारः—

घिदगुळदहिसुसमिद्धं धूविअसूवोवदंससम्भिण्णं ।
सक्कारदत्तमिट्ठं भुञ्जीअदु भत्तमय्येण ॥ १ ॥

(निष्क्रान्तः ।)

स्थापना ।

(ततः प्रविशति विदूषकः)

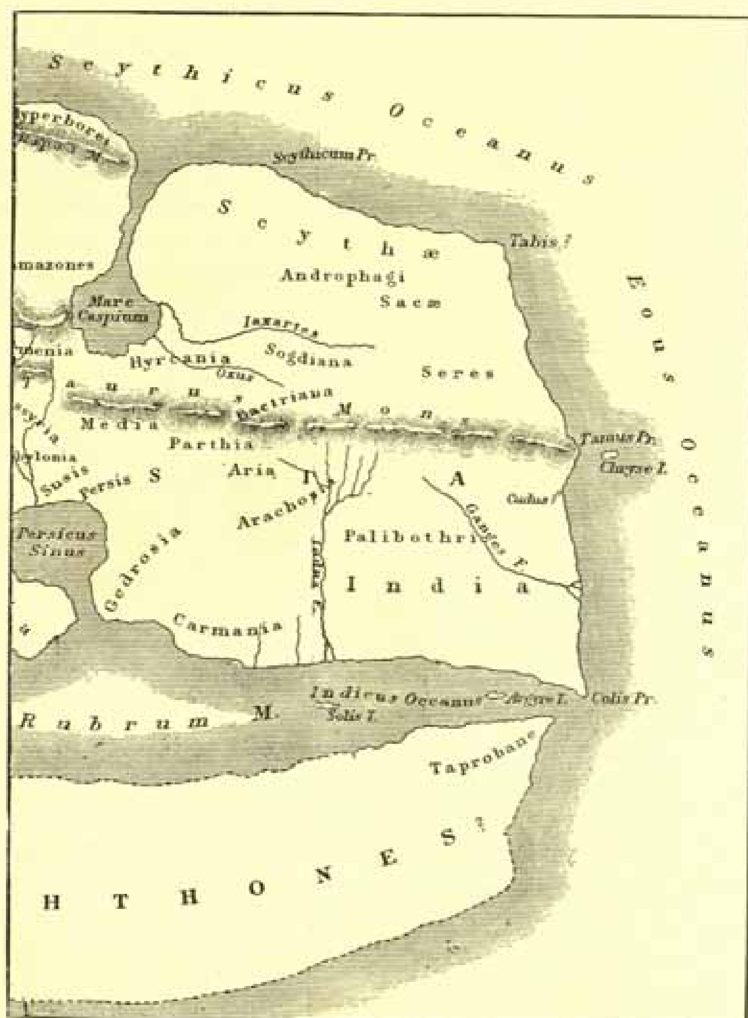
विदूषकः— (क) अण्णं अण्णं णिमन्तेदु दाव भवं । अरित्तओ दाव अहं । णं भणामि अहं अरित्तओ त्ति । किं भणासि—'सम्पण्णं असणं अह्रिदव्वं भविस्सदि' त्ति । अहं पुण जाणामि । (अहिअमहुरस्स अम्बस्स?) अजोग्गदाए (अण्ठी?) ण भक्खीअदि त्ति । किं दाणि मं उव्लालिअ उव्लालिअ भणासि । भणामि वावुदो त्ति । किं भणासि—'दक्खिणमासआणि भविस्संदि' त्ति । एसो वाआ पच्चाचक्खिदो हिअएण अणुबन्धीअमाणो गच्छी-

घृतगुडदधिगुसमृद्धं धूपितसूपोपदंशसम्भिन्नम् ।
सत्कारदत्तमृष्टं भुज्यतां भक्तमार्येण ॥ १ ॥

(क) अन्यमन्यं निमन्त्रयतु तावद् भवान् । अरिक्तकस्तावदहम् । ननु भणाम्यहमरिक्तक इति । किं भणसि—'सम्पन्नमशनमशितव्यं भविष्यति' इति । अहं पुनर्जानामि । अधिकमधुरस्य अम्लस्य अयोग्यतया (अण्ठी?) न भक्ष्यत इति । किमिदानीं मामुल्लाल्योल्लाल्य भणसि । भणामि व्यापृत इति । किं भणसि 'दक्षिणामाषका भविष्यन्तीति । एष वाचा प्रत्याख्यातो हृदयेनानुबध्यमानो गम्यते । अहो अत्याहितम् । अहमपि नाम परस्यामन्त्रणानीति तर्कयामि । योऽहं तत्रभवतश्चारुदत्तस्य गेहेऽहोरात्रपर्याप्तसिद्धैर्नानाविधैर्हिङ्गुविद्धैरुद्गारणसु

Isle, while Argyre, the Isle of Silver, was opposite to the mouth of the Ganges. Pomponius Mela places the land of the Seres—the name by which the inhabitants of northern China were known—south of Tabis and between that headland and India. These statements, though they represent nothing more than a vague groping after the truth, are interesting because they mark the dawn of a perception that beyond the Ganges there lay further to the east certain inhabited lands, and because they show that in Pomponius Mela's time the Seres were recognised as occupying country at the extreme east of the Asiatic continent. Concerning Chryse itself Pomponius Mela, it is probable, entertained no very definite ideas, but his mention of the mythical isle indicates that a new geographical conception had come into being. Henceforth the Ganges was no longer to be regarded as the eastern limit of the habitable world. The map of the earth according to Pomponius Mela, here reproduced from Mr. E. H. Bunbury's admirable *History of Ancient Geography*, shows the distorted character of his notions concerning the configuration of the seas and continents; but in the insignificant island of Chryse, there seen lying off the promontory of Tamus, we must recognise the earliest attempt ever made by a European to locate the lands of southeastern Asia.

It was about this time, as we learn from the works of Pliny the Elder and from that of the anonymous author of the Periplus of the Erythræan Sea, both of which belong to the latter half of the first century, that a great revolution was worked in Asiatic navigation. Pliny tells



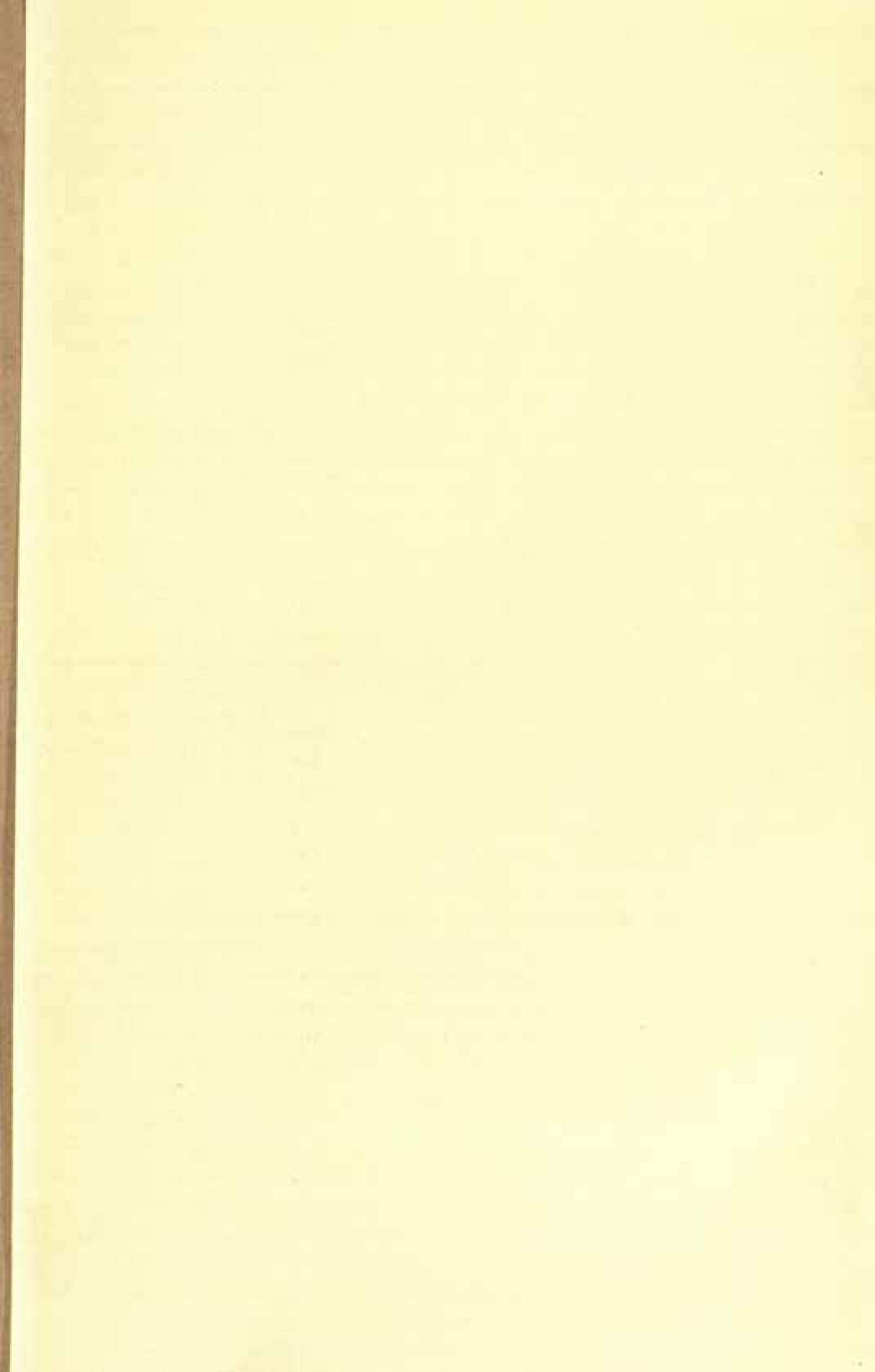
Part of the World, according to Pomponius Mela.
(From Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography.*)

[*Face page 4.*

अदि । अहो अच्चाहिदं । अहं वि णाम परस्स आमन्तआणि त्ति तक्केमि । जो अहं तत्तहोदो चारुदत्तस्स गेहे अहोरत्तपय्यत्त-सिद्धेहि णाणाविधेहि हिङ्गुविद्धेहि ओग्गारणसुगन्धेहि भूक्खेव-मत्तपडिच्छिदेहि अन्तरन्तरपाणीएहि असणप्पआरेहि चित्तअरो विअ बहुमल्लएहि परिवुदो आअण्ठमत्तं अह्निअ चत्वरवुसहो विअ मोदअखज्जएहि रोमन्थाअमाणो दिवसं खेवेमि, सो एव्व दाणि अहं तत्तहोदो चारुदत्तस्स दरिद्दाए समं पारावदेहि साहारणवुत्तिं उवजीवन्तो अण्णहिं चरिअ चरिअ तस्स आवासं एव्व गच्छामि । अण्णं च अच्छरिअं । मम उदरं अवत्थाविसेसं जाणादि । अप्पेणावि तुस्सदि । बहुअं वि ओदणभरं भरिस्सदि दीअमाणं, ण आएदि अदीअमाणं, ण पच्चाचिक्खदि । ण खु अहं एरिसेण ण सन्तुट्ठो । ता सट्ठीकिददेवकय्यस्स तत्तहोदो चारुदत्तस्स कारणादो गहीदो (सुमणो अन्तळिक्खवासो ?) अ । जाव से पस्सपरिवत्ती होमि । (परिक्रम्यावलोक्य) एसो तत्तभवं चारुदत्तो पभादचन्दो विअ सकरुणप्पिअदंसणो जहा-

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गन्धिभिः भ्रूक्षेपमात्रप्रतीष्टैरन्तरान्तरपानीयैरशनप्रकारैश्चित्रकर इव बहुमल्लकैः परिवृत आकण्ठमात्रमशित्वा चत्वरवृषभ इव मोदकखाद्यै रोमन्थायमानो दिवसं क्षिपामि, स एवेदानीमहं तत्रभवतश्चारुदत्तस्य दरिद्रतया समं पारावतैः साधारणवृत्तिमुपजीवन् अन्यत्र चरित्वा चरित्वा तस्यावासमेव गच्छामि । अन्यच्चाश्चर्यम् । ममोदरमवस्थाविशेषं जानाति । अल्पेनापि तुष्यति । बहुकमप्योदनभरं भरिष्यति दीयमानं, न याचतेऽदीयमानं, न प्रत्याचष्टे । न खल्वहमीदृशेन न सन्तुष्टः । तत् षष्ठीकृतदेवकार्यस्य तत्रभवतश्चारुदत्तस्य कारणाद् गृहीतः (सुमनोऽन्तरिक्षवासः ?) च । यावदस्य पार्श्वपरिवर्ती भवामि । एष तत्रभवांश्चारुदत्तः



विभवेण गिहदेवदाणि अच्चअन्तो इदो एव्व आअच्छदि। जाव णं उवसप्पामि। (निष्कान्तः।)

(ततः प्रविशति बलिमुपहरन्नायको विदूषकश्चाङ्गेरिकोहस्ता चेटी च)

नायकः—(दीर्घं निःश्वस्य) भोः! दारिद्र्यं खलु नाम मनस्विनः पुरुषस्य सोच्छ्वासं मरणम्। कुतः,

यासां बलिर्भवति मद्गृहदेहलीनां
हंसैश्च सारसगणैश्च विभक्तपुष्पः।
तास्वेव पूर्वबलिरूढयवाङ्कुरासु
बीजाञ्जलिः पतति कीटमुखावलीढः॥ २॥

विदूषकः—(क) अलं दाणि भवं अदिमत्तं सन्तप्पिदुं। पुरुसजोव्वणाणि विअ गिहजोव्वणाणि खु दसाविसेसं अणुहोन्ति। आसमुद्दआणविपण्णविभवस्स बहुळपक्खचन्दस्स जोह्लापरिक्खओ विअ भवदो एव्व रमणीओ अअं दरिद्दभावो।

नायकः—न खल्वहं नष्टां श्रियमनुशोचामि। गुणरसज्ञस्य तु पुरुषस्य व्यसनं दारुणतरं मां प्रतिभाति। कुतः,

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प्रभातचन्द्र इव सकरुणप्रियदर्शनो यथाविभवेन गृहदैवतान्यर्चयन् इत एवागच्छति। यावदेनमुपसर्पामि।

(क) अलमिदानीं भवानतिमात्रं सन्तप्तुम्। पुरुषयौवनानीव गृहयौवनानि खलु दशाविशेषमनुभवन्ति। आसमुद्रयानविपन्नविभवस्य बहुलपक्षचन्द्रस्य ज्योत्स्नापरिक्षय इव भवत एव रमणीयोऽयं दरिद्रभावः।

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१. 'कां गृहीत्वा च' ख. पाठः.

us that the southwest monsoon was called the Hippalus, and the author of the Periplus explains that "a pilot named Hippalus was the first, who, from observing the position of the ports, and the configuration of the sea, discovered the mode of sailing right across the open sea; from which the name of Hippalus is given to the local wind which blows steadily from the southwest, in the Indian seas."

The voyage of Hippalus, whose example had been so generally followed in the time of Pliny that the journey to and from India was then regularly made by many ships every year, marks an epoch in the story of navigation. Up to this time the seamen of western Asia and of Europe had not ventured out of sight of land, and the length of their voyages had been determined by the convolutions of the coast-lines which they skirted. The man who, first of all his kind, had the hardihood to face the open sea, to lose the comfortable sight of *terra firma*, to stake his life upon the accuracy of his own crude knowledge of geography, and to sail thus bravely into the Unknown, deserves to take rank with the world's great adventurers, with Colombus, with da Gama, with Magellan, and in that he had less of accumulated experience to fortify his resolution, he may even be accounted a greater than they.

The opening up of the direct sea-route to India thus effected served at once to give an enormous impetus to trade between Alexandria and the East, and Pliny was able to obtain first-hand information on the subject of Ceylon from four ambassadors whom a king of that

सुखं हि दुःखान्यनुभूय शोभते
यथान्धकारादिव दीपदर्शनम् ।
सुखात्तु यो याति दशां दरिद्रतां
स्थितः शरीरेण मृतः स जीवति ॥ ३ ॥

विदूषकः—(क) भो वअस्स ! समुद्दपट्टणसारभूदो तादिसो अत्थसञ्चओ कहिं गओ ।

नायकः—(निःश्वस्य) वयस्य ! यत्र गतानि मे भागधेयानि । पश्य,

क्षीणा ममार्थाः प्रणयिक्रियासु
विमानितं नैव परं स्मरामि ।
एतत्तु मे प्रत्ययदत्तमूल्यं
सत्त्वं सखे ! न क्षयमभ्युपैति ॥ ४ ॥

(चिन्तां नाटयति ।)

विदूषकः—(ख) किं भवं अत्थविभवं चिन्तेदि ।

नायकः—

सत्यं न मे धनविनाशगता विचिन्ता
भाग्यक्रमेण हि धनानि पुनर्भवन्ति ।
एतत्तु मां दहति नष्टधनश्रियो मे
यत् सौहृदानि सुजने शिथिलीभवन्ति ॥ ५॥

(क) भो वयस्य! समुद्रपत्तनसारभूतस्तादृशोऽर्थसञ्चयः क गतः ।

(ख) किं भवानर्थविभवं चिन्तयति ।

island sent to the Court of the Emperor Claudius. He states, among other things, that trade was carried on by the natives of Taprobane (Ceylon) with the Seres of northern China, though doubt is cast upon the matter by the fact that the Chinese are described as fair-haired, blue-eyed giants. On the other hand it is significant that no mention is made of any commercial relations subsisting between the peoples of Ceylon and those of south-eastern Asia. This is, at the best, but negative evidence, yet it is noteworthy as seeming to indicate that the sea-route between India and China was not even then in general use, despite the fact that commercial intercourse between the two empires had been carried on overland from a period of remote antiquity.

Of Chryse, the Golden, Pliny, in fact, has nothing to tell us, and the author of the Periplus, whose personal knowledge did not extend beyond Nelkynda, probably Melisseram, on the Malabar coast, says of it only that it was situated opposite to the mouths of the Ganges and that it produced the best tortoise-shell found in all the Erythræan Sea. He speaks, however, of Thina, the land of silk, situated "where the seacoast ends externally," whence we may gather that Chryse was conceived by him as an island lying not only to the east of the Ganges, but also to the southward of the Chinese Empire. This indicates a distinct advance in knowledge, for the isle of Chryse, albeit still enveloped in a golden haze, was to the author of the Periplus a real country, and no mere mythical fairy-land. Rumours, it would seem, must have reached him concerning it—rumours upon which he be-

अपिच,

दारिद्र्यात् पुरुषस्य बान्धवजनो वाक्ये न सन्तिष्ठते
सत्त्वं ह्रास्यमुपैति शीलशशिनः कान्तिः परिम्लायते*।
निर्वैरा विमुखीभवन्ति सुहृदः स्फीता भवन्त्यापदः
पापं कर्म च यत् परैरपि कृतं तत्तस्य सम्भाव्यते ॥ ६ ॥

विदूषकः—(क) एदे दाणि दासीएवुत्ता अत्थवावारा गोवदारआ विअ मसअभीदा गिहादो णिग्गच्छन्ति। धणविणासदुःखस्स उण चिन्तिअमाणस्स वसन्ते बुड्ढस्स सरत्थम्बस्स विअ अङ्कुरङ्कुरा उब्भमन्ति। ता अळं भवदो सन्दावेण।

नायकः—वयस्य! किमर्थं सन्तापं करिष्ये। किञ्चाहं दरिद्रः, यस्य मम,

विभवानुवशा भार्या समदुःखसुखो भवान्।
सत्त्वं च न परिभ्रष्टं यद् दरिद्रेषु दुर्लभम् ॥ ७ ॥

(ततः प्रविशति गणिका सम्भ्रान्ता विटेन शकारेण चानुगम्यमाना।)

शकारः—(ख) चिट्ठ चिट्ठ वशन्तशेणिए! चिट्ठ,

(क) एत इदानीं दास्याःपुत्रा अर्थव्यापारा गोपदारका इव मशकभीता गृहाद् निर्गच्छन्ति। धनविनाशदुःखस्य पुनश्चिन्त्यमानस्य वसन्ते वृद्धस्य शरस्तम्बस्येवाङ्कुराङ्कुरा उद्भ्रमन्ति। तदलं भवतः सन्तापेन।

(ख) तिष्ठ तिष्ठ वसन्तसेने! तिष्ठ,

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* म्लायतीति स्यात्।

किं याशि धावशि पधावशि पक्खलन्ती
शाहु प्पशीद ण मळीअशि चिट्ठ दाव ।
कामेण शम्पदि हि जज्झइ मे शळीळं
अङ्गाळमज्झपडिदे विअ चम्मखण्डे ॥ ८ ॥

विटः—वसन्तसेने!

किं त्वं भयेन परिवर्तितसौकुमार्या
नृत्तोपदेशविशदौ चरणौ क्षिपन्ती ।
उद्विग्नचञ्चलकटाक्षनिविष्टदृष्टि-
र्व्याघ्रानुसारचकिता हरिणीव यासि ॥ ९ ॥

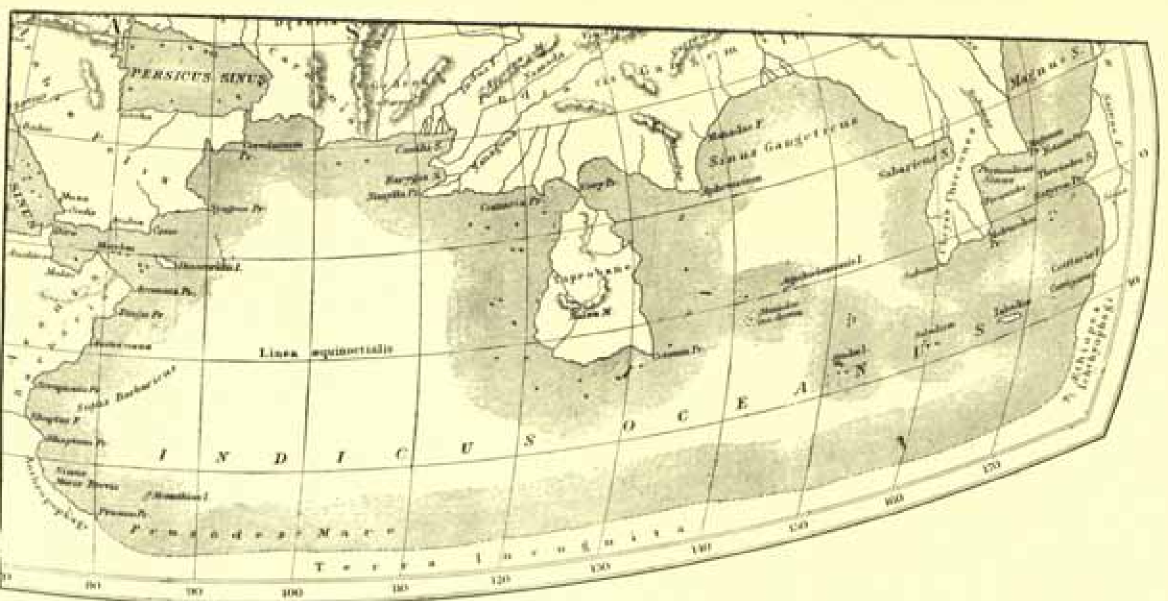
शकारः—(क) भावे! एशा गच्छइ वशन्तशेणिआ,
दुवेहि अह्मेहि* अणुबन्धअन्ती
जहा शिगाळी विअ कुक्कुळेहि ।
शणूपुळा मेहळणादहाशा
शवेट्टणं मे हळअं हळन्ती ॥ १० ॥

किं यासि धावसि प्रधावसि प्रस्खलन्ती
साधु प्रसीद न मार्यसे तिष्ठ तावत् ।
कामेन सम्प्रति हि दह्यते मे शरीर-
मङ्गारमध्यपतितमिव चर्मखण्डम् ॥ ८ ॥

(क) भाव! एषा गच्छति वसन्तसेना,
द्वाभ्यामावाभ्यामनुबध्यमाना यथा सृगालीव कुक्कुराभ्याम् ।
सनूपुरा मेखलानादहासा सवेष्टनं मे हृदयं हरन्ती ॥ १० ॥

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* हिकाराकारयोः स्थाने 'ह्म'कारः पाठ्यो भाति ।



PART OF THE WORLD ACCORDING TO PTOLEMY.
(From Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*).

[*Face page 6.*

विटः——वसन्तसेने !

किं त्वं पदात् पदशतानि निवेशयन्ती
नागीव यासि पतगेन्द्रभयाभिभूता ।
वेगादहं प्रचलितः पवनोपमेयः
किं त्वां ग्रहीतुमथवा न हि मेऽस्ति शक्तिः ॥ ११ ॥

गणिका——(समन्तादवलोक्य) (क) पळ्ळवअ ! पळ्ळवअ ! परहुदिए ! परहुदिए ! महुअरअ ! महुअरअ! सारिए! सारिए!। हद्धि, णट्ठो मे परिजणो । एत्थ सअं एव्व अप्पा रक्खिदव्वो ।

शकारः——(ख) विळव विळव (णाए ?) विळव पळ्ळवं वा, परहुदिअं वा, महुअरं वा, शाळि(शि?)अं वा, शव्वं वशन्चमाशं वा । के के तुमं परित्तआशि ।

कं वाशुजेवे शेवपट्ट(शेण?णेशे)
कुन्तीशुदे वा जणमेजए वा ।
अहं तुमं गह्णिअ केशहत्थे
दुःशाशळे शीदमिवाहुळामि ॥ १२ ॥

(क) पल्लवक ! पल्लवक ! परभृतिके ! परभृतिके ! मधुकरक ! मधुकरक ! शारिके ! शारिके ! । हा धिक्, नष्टो मे परिजनः । अत्र स्वयमेवात्मा रक्षितव्यः ।

(ख) विलप विलप (णाए ?) विलप पल्लवं वा, परभृतिकां वा, मधुकरं वा, शारिकां वा, सर्वं वसन्तमासं वा । कस्कस्त्वां परित्रास्यते ।

किं वासुदेवः शवपत्तनेशः कुन्तीसुतो वा जनमेजयो वा ।
अहं त्वां गृहीत्वा केशहस्ते दुःशासनः सीतामिवाहरामि ॥ १२ ॥

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१. 'शवप' क. पाठः.

विटः—वसन्तसेने! सर्वत्र भयानभिज्ञहृदयं मां कुरु । पश्य,

> परिचिततिमिरा मे शीलदोषेण रात्रि-
> र्बहलतिमिरकालास्तीर्णपूर्वा विघट्टाः* ।
> युवतिजनसमक्षं काममेतन्न वाच्यं
> विपणिषु हतशेषा रक्षिणः साक्षिणो मे ॥ १३ ॥

गणिका—(क) हं इदाणिं संसइदा संवुत्ता, †जो अप्पगुणाणि सअं एव्व मन्तेदि । कहं एदे अकय्यं ण करिस्सन्दि ।

विटः—भवति! क्रियतामस्माकमनुनयप्रग्रहः । पश्य,

> जनयति खलु रोषं प्रश्रयो भिद्यमानः
> किमिव च रुषितानां दुष्करं मद्विधानाम् ।
> अनुनयति समर्थः खड्गदीर्घः करोऽयं
> युवतिवधघृणाया मां शरीरं च रक्ष ॥ १४ ॥

गणिका—(ख) अणुणओ वि खु से भाएदि ।

(क) हम् इदानीं संशयिता संवृत्ता, य आत्मगुणान् स्वयमेव मन्त्रयते । कथमेतेऽकार्यं न करिष्यन्ति ।

(ख) अनुनयोऽपि खल्वस्य भाययति ।

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* विघट्टा विमार्गा इत्यर्थः । † 'जो' इत्यस्य प्रतिनिर्देश्यं सेनेति हेतुतृतीयान्तं संशयितापदेन योज्यम् ।

lieved he could rely—and this would tend to prove that the sea-route to China *via* the Straits of Malacca, even though it was not yet in general use, was no longer unknown to the mariners of the East. We know that less than a century later the sailor Alexander, from whom Marinus of Tyre derived the knowledge subsequently utilised by Ptolemy, had himself sailed to the Malay Peninsula and beyond, and it may safely be concluded that the feasibility of this southeastern passage had become known to the seafarers of China long before an adventurer from the West was enabled to test the fact of its existence through the means of an actual voyage.

Ptolemy's views concerning the geography of southeastern Asia, derived mainly from the works of his predecessor Marinus of Tyre, may best be appreciated by a glance at the map here reproduced from Mr. Bunbury's *History of Ancient Geography*. His primary misconception of the Indian Ocean as another and vaster Mediterranean was responsible for many of his geographical distortions, yet if this preconceived notion, and the bias which it imparted to his ideas, be borne in mind, it will be found that there is good reason to believe that the information supplied to him was derived originally from a man who had first-hand knowledge of the sea-route to China. Marinus had quoted the sailor Alexander as journeying from the Golden Chersonese along a coast-line which "faced south"—that is to say, ran from west to east,—for a period of twenty days, until a port called Zabæ was reached. From this point, he declared, ships

शकारः—(क) वशन्तशेणिए! शुट्ठु भावे भणाशि। बहुमण्णिअदि खु दाव बळिअजणदुल्ळहे अणुणए। पेक्ख वाशु!

अशि क्खु तीक्खे शिहिगीवमेअए
  खिवेमि शीशं तव माळए ह्वा।
अळं तु अह्माळिशकाणि ळोशिअ
  मडे खु जो होइ ण णाम जीवइ॥ १५॥

गणिका—(ख) अय्य! कुळउत्तजणस्स सीळपरितोसोवजीविणी गणिआ खु अहं।

विटः—अतः खलु प्रार्थ्यसे।

गणिका—(ग) अय्य! इमादो जणादो किं इच्छीअदि सरीरं वा आदु अळङ्कारो वा।

विटः—न पुष्पमोक्षणमर्हति लता। कृतमलङ्कारेण।

(क) वसन्तसेने! सुष्ठु भावो भणति। बहुमान्यते खलु तावद् बलवज्जनदुर्लभोऽनुनयः। पश्य वासु!

असिः खलु तीक्ष्णः शिखिग्रीवामेचकः क्षिपामि शीर्षं तव मारयेऽथवा।
अलं त्वस्मादृशकान् रोषयित्वा मृतः खलु यो भवति न नाम जीवति॥ १५॥

(ख) आर्य! कुलपुत्रजनस्य शीलपरितोषोपजीविनी गणिका खल्वहम्।

(ग) आर्य! अस्माज्जनात् किमिष्यते शरीरं वाथवालङ्कारो वा।

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१. 'क्षम' ख. पाठः.

sailed eastward of *south* for a still longer period until the town of Cattigara was reached. The exact locality of Cattigara has been much disputed, Mannert placing it in Borneo, while Bunbury inclines to the belief that some point on the coast of Cochin China is indicated. On the other hand Marinus and Ptolemy both expressly state that Cattigara was a city of the Sinæ, or in other words a port of southern China, and a study of the route followed at a later period by Arabian and European travellers alike reveals the fact that few ever passed on a long voyage to the eastward of the Golden Chersonese unless they were bound for the Celestial Empire. Furthermore, it will be found that it is only by taking some port of southern China as our starting point—*viz.*, as being the town of Cattigara—that Ptolemy's itinerary can be made to have any sequence or meaning. The Sinus Magnus, which is described as the first sea crossed after leaving Cattigara, would then be the China Sea; the Promontorium Magnum, dividing it from the Sinus Perimulicus, which is perhaps identical with Marinus's Zabæ, would be some point upon the shores of Indo-China, corresponding with Champa, the kingdom which at a later period was an invariable port of call for vessels making the China voyage. Similarly, the Sinus Perimulicus itself, which is described as washing the eastern shores of the Golden Chersonese, would be the Gulf of Siam; the Golden Chersonese would be, as it is usually agreed that it is, the Malay Peninsula; and the Sinus Sabaricus, on the western shores of the Chersonese, would correspond to the Straits of Malacca from their southern portals to the Gulf of

गणिका—(क) अहं खु दाणि अत्ताणं ण सन्दावेअं ।

शकारः—(ख) वशन्तशेणिए ! अहं भट्टिपुत्ते काम-इदव्वे ।

गणिका—(ग) सन्तो सि ।

शकारः—(घ) शुणाहि भावे ! शुणाहि । एशा वशन्त-शेणिआ मं शन्तो शि त्ति भणादि ।

विटः—(आत्मगतम्) आक्रुष्टमात्मानं न जानाति मूर्खः । ध्वंस इत्युक्ते श्रान्त इत्यवगच्छति । अपिच,

अभिनयति वचांसि सर्वगात्रैः
किमपि किमप्यनवेक्षितार्थमाह ।
अनुचितगतिरप्रगल्भवाक्यः
पुरुषमयस्य पशोर्नवावतारः ॥ १६ ॥

(प्रकाशम्) वसन्तसेने ! किमिदं मत्सन्निधौ वेशवासविरुद्धमभि-हितम् । पश्य,

तरुणजनसहायश्चिन्त्यतां वेशवासो
विगणय गणिका त्वं मार्गजाता लतेव ।

(क) अहं खल्विदानीमात्मानं न सन्तापयेयम् ।

(ख) वसन्तसेने! अहं भर्तृपुत्रः कामयितव्यः ।

(ग) शान्तोऽसि ।

(घ) शृणु भाव! शृणु । एषा वसन्तसेना मां श्रान्तोऽसीति भणति ।

Martaban. The island of Iabadius, or Sabadius—the reading of the name is doubtful—has generally been taken to represent Java, though there appears to be slight reason for the assumption, Java lying at a considerable distance from the sea-route to China, and being to a much later time visited with comparative infrequency by travellers from the west. On the other hand, Sumatra lay close to the track of ships plying between India and the Far East; was a regular port of call from the period to which belongs the first authentic records of the China voyages; and could not fail to be sighted by ships running up the Straits of Malacca. It will be seen from the above that it is only by starting from southern China, that is by recognising Cattigara as a port of the Celestial Empire, possibly the Zayton of the medieval wanderers, or a town which preceded Zayton, as Zayton itself preceded Canton, that Ptolemy's descriptive outline can be applied to the true geographical facts of the region dealt with. No straining of probabilities becomes necessary; no statements have to be elaborately explained away; and it may be stated without fear of refutation that this ceases to be the case if any other point be taken as the site of Cattigara.

To the account of the distances said to have been supplied to Marinus by the sailor Alexander, no real importance can be attached. It was the rough estimate of a man who was probably very ignorant, and it was given to a geographer who was not averse to making a bold guess if thereby the reported facts could be forced to fit in with ideas previously conceived. The same qualifying

वहसि हि धनहार्यं पण्यभूतं शरीरं
समसुपचर भद्रे! सुप्रियं चाप्रियं च ॥ १७ ॥

गणिका— (क) एसो मे अभिणिवेसो अभिजणेण तुळीअदि।

शकारः— (ख) भावे! एशा अन्धआळपूळिशगम्भीला ळच्छा दीशइ। मा खु (णाए?) एत्थ भंशइदव्वा। आ कामदेवाणुआणप्पहुदि णअणमत्तशंमुळं दलिद्दशत्थवाहवुत्तं चाळुदत्तवडुअं कामेदि एशा। इदं तश्श गेहश्श पक्खदुवाळं।

गणिका— (सहर्षमात्मगतम्) (ग) एदं तस्स गेहं। दिट्ठिआ दाणिं अमित्तजणणिरोहेण पिअजणसमीवं उवणीदह्मि। भोदु, एवं दाव करिस्सं। (अपसरति।)

शकारः— (विलोक्य) (घ) भावे! णट्ठा (णाए!) णट्ठा।

विटः— कथं नष्टा। अन्विष्यतामन्विष्यताम्।

शकारः— (ङ) भावे! ण दिश्शदि।

(क) एष मेऽभिनिवेशोऽभिजनेन तोल्यते।

(ख) भाव! एषान्धकारपूरितगम्भीरा रथ्या दृश्यते। मा खलु (णाए!) अत्र भ्रंशयितव्या। आ कामदेवानुयानप्रभृति नयनमात्रसंमुखं दरिद्रसार्थवाहपुत्रं चारुदत्तवटुकं कामयते एषा। इदं तस्य गृहस्य पक्षद्वारम्।

(ग) एतत् तस्य गेहम्। दिष्ट्येदानीममित्रजननिरोधेन प्रियजनसमीपमुपनीतास्मि। भवतु, एवं तावत् करिष्यामि।

(घ) भाव! नष्टा (णाए!) नष्टा।

(ङ) भाव! न दृश्यते।

consideration must be held to apply to the direction in which ships making the voyage to Cattigara are said to have sailed after passing the Golden Chersonese. The brief examination of Ptolemy's itinerary already attempted will suffice to establish the probability that Marinus's informant had actually travelled over the sea-route to southern China, and that the geographical confusions shown in the map of the world according to Ptolemy were due less to error in the information supplied than to the faulty reasoning occasioned by misconceptions on the part of the philosophers themselves.

Although, as we have seen, the earliest indication of any conception of lands lying far to the east and south of the valley of the Ganges on the part of the learned of the West belongs to the year A. D. 43, and the first mention of the *Chersonesus Aurea* occurs in the works of Marinus of Tyre about a century later, it would appear that the name which the latter was the first to attach to a definite locality had become familiarly known to *savants* in Europe at a somewhat earlier period. This came about, it is probable, through the accounts brought back by mariners who had themselves made the voyage to this distant quarter of the earth, of whom there is no particular reason to believe that Marinus's Alexander was the first. The name itself would be suggestive of great wealth; distance would lend to it its customary enchantment; the vague information current concerning it would serve to deck it with a halo of mystery, with the glamour of romance; whence it would naturally arise that the Golden Chersonese would come to be regarded

विटः—हन्त वञ्चिताः स्मः । वसन्तसेने ! उपलब्धेदानीमसि ।

कामं प्रदोषतिमिरेण (न) दृश्यसे त्वं
सौदामनीव जलदोदरसन्निरुद्धा ।
त्वां सूचयिष्यति हि वायुवशोपनीतो
गन्धश्च शब्दमुखराणि च भूषणानि ॥ १८ ॥

(गणिका मालामपनीय भूषणानि चोत्सारयति ।)

विटः—अहो बलवांश्चायमन्धकारः । सम्प्रति हि,

लिम्पतीव तमोऽङ्गानि वर्षतीवाञ्जनं नभः ।
असत्पुरुषसेवेव दृष्टिर्निष्फलतां गता ॥ १९ ॥

अपिच,

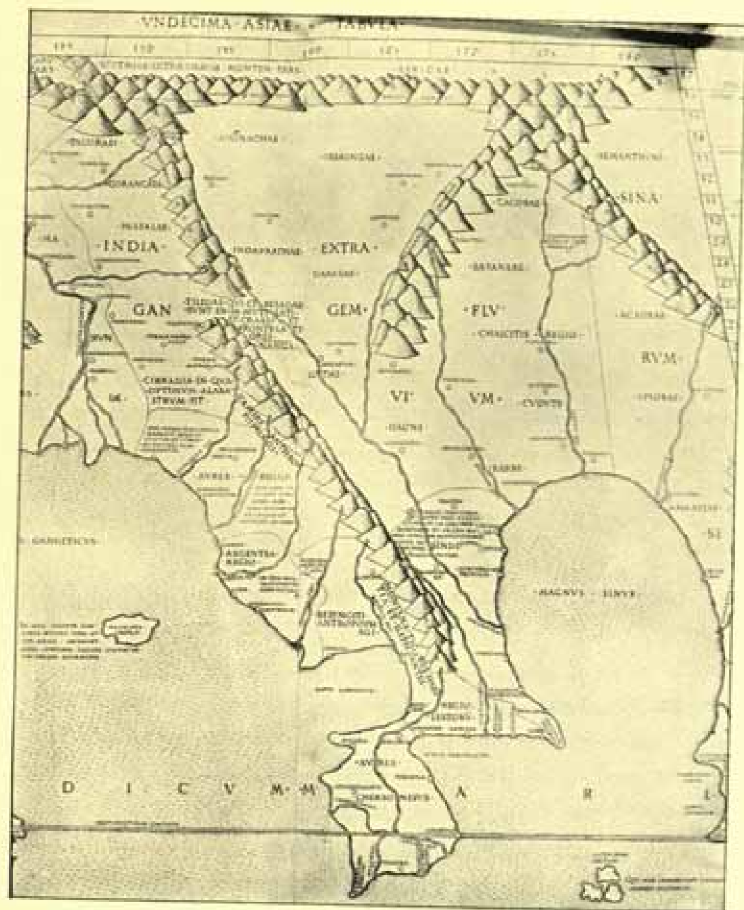
सुलभशरणमाश्रयो भयानां
वनगहनं तिमिरं च तुल्यमेव ।
उभयमपि हि *रक्षतेऽन्धकारो
जनयति यश्च भयानि यश्च भीतः ॥ २० ॥

तथाहि—

आलोकविशाला मे
सहसा तिमिरप्रवेशसञ्छन्ना ।
उन्मीलितापि दृष्टि-
र्निमीलितेवान्धकारेण ॥ २१ ॥

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* परस्मैपदमपेक्षितम् ।



PTOLEMY'S FURTHER INDIA, AS INTERPRETED IN THE XVTH CENTURY
(From the Roman Ptolemy of 1490.)

[*Face page 10.*

गणिका—(क) अम्महे भित्तिपरिणामसूइदं पक्खदुवाळं। असम्भोअमळिणदाए इह अहिअं अन्धआरो। ता इह एव्व चिट्ठिस्सं। (स्थिता।)

नायकः—मैत्रेय! गच्छ, चतुष्पथे बलिमुपहर मातृभ्यः।

विदूषकः—(ख) ण मे सद्धा, अण्णो गच्छदु।

नायकः—किमर्थम्।

विदूषकः—(ग) मम बुद्धी आदंसमण्डळगआ विअ छाआ वामेसु दक्खिणा दक्खिणेसु वामा होइ।

नायकः—मूर्ख! यथाविभवेनार्च्यताम्। भक्त्या तुष्यन्ति[1] दैवतानि। तद् गम्यताम्।

विदूषकः—(घ) एआई अहं कहं गमिस्सं।

नायकः—रदनिके! अनुगच्छात्रभवन्तम्।

(क) अहो भित्तिपरिणामसूचितं पक्षद्वारम्। असम्भोगमलिनतयेहाधिकमन्धकारः। तद् इहैव स्थास्यामि।

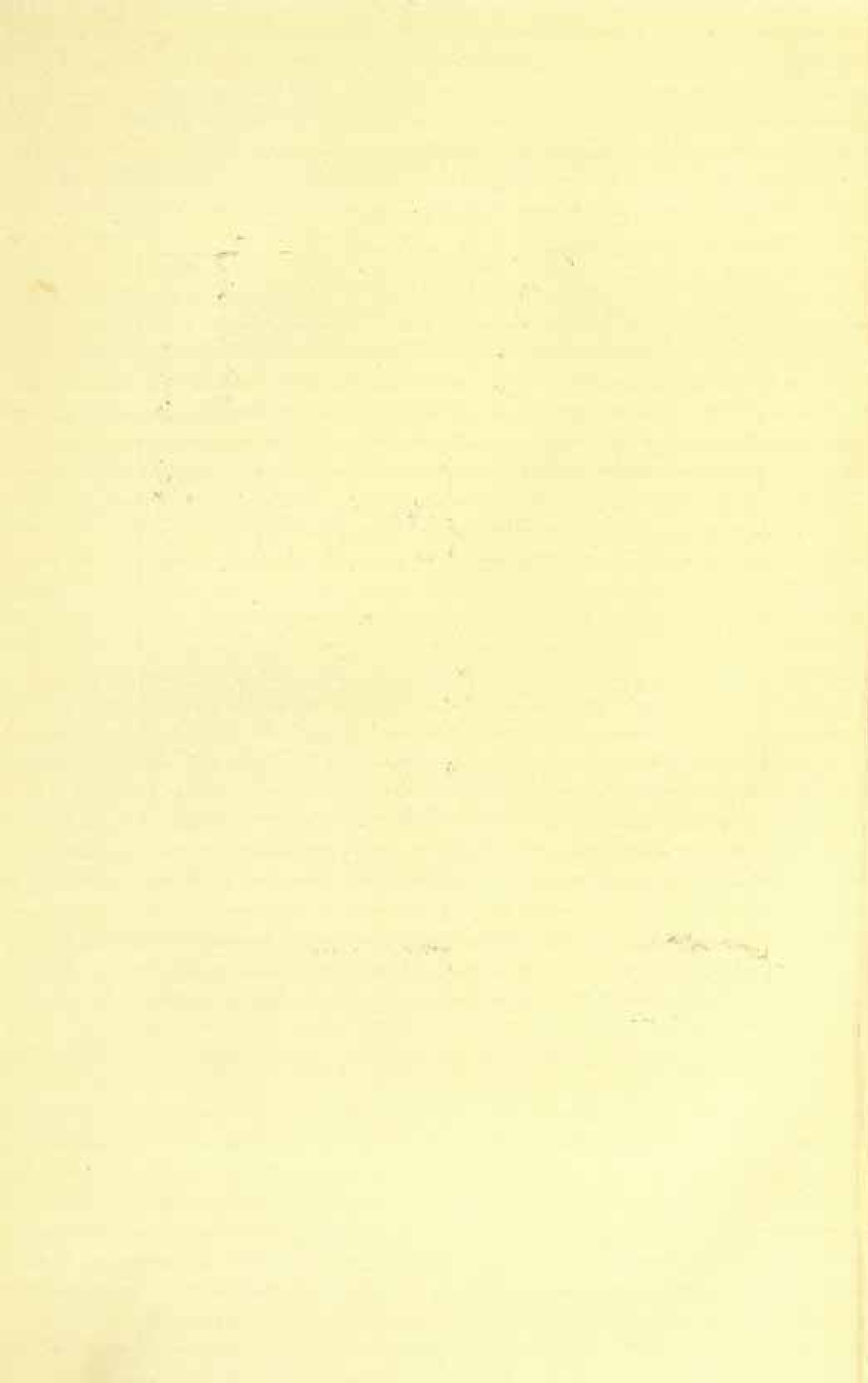
(ख) न मे श्रद्धा, अन्यो गच्छतु।

(ग) मम बुद्धिरादर्शमण्डलगतेवच्छाया वामेषु दक्षिणा दक्षिणेषु वामा भवति।

(घ) एकाक्यहं कथं गमिष्यामि।

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१. 'न्ति-सर्वदै' ख. पाठः.



रदनिका—(क) जं भट्टा आणवेदि ।

विदूषकः—(ख) भोदि ! दीवं अहं णइस्सं ।

नायकः—यथा भवान् मन्यते, तथास्तु ।

विदूषकः—(दीपं गृहीत्वा) (ग) भो रदणिए! अवावुद पक्ख-दुवाळं[1] ।

रदनिका—(घ) तह । (नाट्येन द्वारमपावृणोति ।)

(गणिका वस्त्रान्तेन दीपं निर्वापयति ।)

विदूषकः—(ङ) अविहा अविहा ।

नायकः—वयस्य ! किमेतत् ।

विदूषकः—(च) अवावुदपक्खदुवारपिण्डीकिदप्पविट्ठेण राअमग्गसङ्किण्णेण वादेण सहसा णिग्गच्छन्तस्स मम हत्थे णिवावुदो दीवो ।

(क) यद् भर्ताज्ञापयति ।

(ख) भवति! दीपमहं नेष्यामि ।

(ग) भो रदनिके! अपावृणु पक्षद्वारम् ।

(घ) तथा ।

(ङ) अविहाविहा ।

(च) अपावृतपक्षद्वारपिण्डीकृतप्रविष्टेन राजमार्गसङ्कीर्णेन वातेन सहसा निर्गच्छतो मम हस्ते निर्वापितो दीपः ।

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१. 'र' ख. पाठः.

as the source whence was drawn the almost fabulous riches of which history held the record.

In this connection a curious passage may be cited from Josephus's *Antiquities of the Jews*, which was written during the latter half of the first century, at a period, it will be noted, prior to the date of the works of Marinus of Tyre. Here, in speaking of the pilots furnished to Solomon by Hiram of Tyre, he writes:

"To whom Solomon gave this command that they should go along with his stewards to the land that of old was called Ophir, but now the *Aurea Chersonesus*, which belongs to India, to fetch gold."

Here, it will be remarked, Josephus speaks of the Chersonese with a certain familiarity, as of a region with the existence of which his readers would be in some sort acquainted, but apart from this he makes two very definite statements—that Ophir and the *Chersonesus Aurea* are one, and that Ophir belonged to India. The second of these would seem to imply that he recognised that the Chersonese was not an integral portion of India, and since the name had never been borne by any country of the West, he must have intended to convey the meaning that it lay beyond the valley of the Ganges, which in his day was recognised as the eastern boundary of Hindustan.

It is now generally held that Ophir itself was, in all probability, a mere distributing centre situated somewhere in the neighbourhood of the entrance to the Red Sea, and that the pilots of Hiram of Tyre did not guide the Stewards of Solomon to the actual source of the gold

नायकः— मूर्ख! धिक् त्वाम्।

विदूषकः— (क) अप्पं क्खु मे अवरद्धं। रदणिए! गच्छ, चउप्पहे मं पडिवालेहि। जाव अहं वि अब्भन्तरचउस्सालादो दीवं गह्णिअ आअच्छामि। (निष्क्रान्तः।)

चेटी— (ख) अय्य! तह। (परिक्रामति।)

गणिका— (ग) दिट्ठिआ मम प्पवेसणिमित्तं अवावुदं पक्खदुवालं। अलं चारित्तभएण। जाव पविसामि। (अभ्यन्तरं प्रविश्य तिष्ठति।)

विटः— (विलोक्यात्मगतम्।) भवनान्निर्गत्य काचिदियमागच्छति। भवत्वनया वराकं वञ्चयामि। (प्रकाशम्।) सुरभिम्लानधूपानुविद्ध इव गन्धः।

शकारः— (घ) आम भावे! शुणामि गन्धं शवणेहिं। अन्धआलपूलिदेहिं णाशापुडेहिं शुट्ठु ण पेक्खामि।

विटः— तिष्ठ तिष्ठ। क यास्यसि। (चेटीं गृह्णाति।)

(चेटी सभयं भूमौ पतिता।)

(क) अल्पं खलु मेऽपराद्धम्। रदनिके! गच्छ, चतुष्पथे मां प्रतिपालय यावदहमप्यभ्यन्तरचतुश्शालाद् दीपं गृहीत्वागच्छामि।

(ख) आर्य! तथा।

(ग) दिष्ट्या मम प्रवेशनिमित्तमपावृतं पक्षद्वारम्। अलं चारित्रभयेन। यावत् प्रविशामि।

(घ) आम भाव! शृणोमि गन्धं श्रवणाभ्याम्। अन्धकारपूरिताभ्यां नासापुटाभ्यां सुष्ठु न पश्यामि।

which went to deck the temple of Jehovah in Jerusalem. The discovery of vast mines in southern Africa, which are believed to date from an immense antiquity, has led of late years to the conclusion that this was the region whence Solomon in his glory drew his stores of gold.

M. Auguste Pavie in the second volume of his monumental work on Indo-China contends that ancient Kambodia is the original Ophir, and that to the whole of the vast peninsula, rather than to its southern portion of Malaya, was applied in ancient days the name of the *Chersonesus Aurea.* The wonderful civilisation of the Khmers which brought into being the splendid buildings of Angkor, of which more will be said in a later chapter, testifies to the existence of a mighty empire in Indo-China which must once have been a centre of wealth and commerce. The vast siltage, borne down from the remote interior by the floods of the Mekong, has changed the face of the country within historical times, and Angkor Thom itself, now distant nearly two hundred miles from the coast, was once a seaport. That the Khmer Empire must in its day have played an important part in the history of eastern Asia cannot be doubted, but M. Pavie's arguments, plausible though they often are, fail to carry conviction when he seeks to prove the identity of Kambodia with Ophir. Also, as regards his contention that the whole of Indo-China was included in the term the Golden Chersonese, it is difficult to believe that what is in fact an immense peninsula was ever recognised as such by the early mariners and geographers. Its bulk is too

शकारः—(क) गह्ण भावे! गह्ण ।

विटः—

एषा हि वयसो दर्पात् कुलपुत्रावमानिनी ।
केशेषु कुसुमन्यासैः सेवितव्येषु धर्षिता ॥ २२ ॥

शकारः—(ख) भावे! किं गहीदा ।

विटः—अथकिम् । एषा गन्धानुसारेण गृहीता ।

शकारः—(ग) दाशीएपुत्तीए शीशं दाव छिन्दिअ पच्चा माळइश्शं ।

विटः—गृह्यतां तावत् ।

शकारः—(चेटीं गृहीत्वा)

(घ) एशा हि वाशू शिळशि ग्गहीदा
केशेशु वाळेशु शिळोळुहेशु ।
कूजाहि कन्दाहि ळवाहि वात्तं
महेश्शळं शङ्कळमिश्शळं वा ॥ २३ ॥

(चेटीं बलादाकर्षति ।)

(क) गृहाण भाव! गृहाण ।

(ख) भाव! किं गृहीता ।

(ग) दास्याःपुत्र्याः शीर्षं तावच्छित्त्वा पश्चान्मारयिष्यामि ।

(घ) एषा हि वासूः शिरसि गृहीता केशेषु वालेषु शिरोरुहेषु ।
कूज क्रन्द लप वार्तं महेश्वरं शङ्करमीश्वरं वा ॥ २३ ॥

great for its peninsular character to be easily or immediately appreciated, while the Malay Peninsula, that long and slender tongue of land projecting to the south of the continent of Asia, forces an understanding of its nature upon the least scientific and observant traveller.

In these circumstances M. Pavie's arguments seem to be impossible of acceptance, and the recent discovery in the Malayan State of Pahang—the home of apes and ivory and peafowl—of immense gold mines of very ancient date and of a workmanship that has no counterpart in southeastern Asia, supplies an ample reason for the designation of "golden" so long applied to the Chersonese. Here, hidden away under the shade of the primeval forest, are excavations which must have yielded in their time tons of the precious metal, and if Josephus spoke truly, and did not, as is more probable, merely hazard a bold conjecture, here perhaps are to be found in the heart of the *Chersonesus Aurea* the mines of Solomon the King. Of the race that worked them, of the slaves who toiled and suffered and died therein, we to-day possess no clue, for this, the story of the earliest exploration of a portion of southeastern Asia, is lost to us forever. Here, however, at the very outset of our enquiry, we obtain a glimpse of one of those pregnant suggestions wherewith Asia impresses our imaginations by virtue of her antiquity, her wonder and her mystery. Hers is the land of buried story, of hidden records, of forgotten romance. The East baffles while she fascinates us: fascinates because she baffles. Sphinx-like she propounds riddles which few can answer, luring us onward

चेटी—(क) किं अय्यमिस्सेहि ववसिदं ।

शकारः—(ख) भावे ! जाणामि शळयोगेण ण होइ वश-न्तशेणिआ ।

विटः—न मोक्तव्या वसन्तसेनैवैषा ।

एषा रङ्गप्रवेशेन कलानां चैव शिक्षया ।
स्वरान्तरेण दक्षा हि व्याहर्तुं तन्न मुच्यताम् ॥ २४ ॥

(प्रविश्य)

विदूषकः—(दीपं गृहीत्वा) (ग) राअमग्गसङ्किण्णेण सीअसुउमारेण वादेण पदे पदे विक्खोहिअमाणतरङ्गतेल्लपुण्णभाअणं दीवं कहं वि रक्खिअ गह्णिअ आअदो म्हि ।

चेटी—(शकारं पादेन ताडयन्ती रुदित्वा) (घ) अय्य ! मेत्तेअ ! अयं परिभवो, आदु अवलेवो ।

विदूषकः—(ङ) मा दाव मा दाव । (सखङ्ग विटं शकारं च दृष्ट्वा शङ्कितस्तिष्ठति ।)

(क) किमार्यमिश्रैर्व्यवसितम् ।

(ख) भाव! जानामि स्वरयोगेन न भवति वसन्तसेना ।

(ग) राजमार्गसङ्कीर्णेन शीतसुकुमारेण वातेन पदे पदे विक्षोभ्यमाणतरङ्गतैलपूर्णभाजनं दीपं कथमपि रक्षित्वा गृहीत्वागतोऽस्मि ।

(घ) आर्य! मैत्रेय! अयं परिभवोऽथवावलेपः ।

(ङ) मा तावद् मा तावत् ।

१. 'ममजणिअत' ख. पाठः.

with illusive hopes of inspiring revelations, yet hiding ever in her splendid, tattered bosom the secrets of the oldest and least amply recorded of human histories.

After the time of Ptolemy there follows a long and barren period during which little advance in geographical knowledge was made by the nations of the West, nor is it until the sixth century that anything resembling new light is thrown by a European upon the topography of southeastern Asia. Moreover the shedder of that light is himself a grotesque figure, an angry theologian bent upon proving the impossible, and moved to intense fury by the impiety of those who, touching more nearly the skirts of truth, have not the advantage of agreeing with him. This is Cosmas Indicopleustes, a monk and an Alexandrian Greek, who between 530 and 550 A. D. set himself the task of proving that the universe was fashioned after the model of the Ark made by the Children of Israel in the desert. It is not necessary to follow him through the mazes of his argument, all of which he supported by texts culled from the Scriptures, but out of the tissue of absurdities to which he pinned his faith two facts emerge. While inveighing in season and out of season against those who clung to the belief that the world was globular, and against the unspeakable naughtiness of the adherents to the poisonous doctrine of the antipodes, he displays a sound knowledge of the sea-route to China, stating that a ship after travelling sufficiently far to the east, must turn to the *north*, and must sail in that direction " at least as far as a vessel

विटः—अये आर्यचारुदत्तस्य वयस्यो मैत्रेयः खल्वयम् । नेयमपि वसन्तसेना । महाब्राह्मण! अन्यशङ्कया खल्विदमस्माभिरनुष्ठितं, न दर्पात् । पश्यतु भवान्,

अकामा ह्रियतेऽस्माभिः काचित् स्वाधीनयौवना ।
सा भ्रष्टा शङ्कया तस्याः प्राप्तेयं शीलवञ्चना ॥ २५ ॥

शकारः—(क) अविहा दळिद्दशत्थवाहपुत्तश्श चाळुदत्तबडुअश्श चेडी खु इअं, ण होइ वशन्तशेणिआ । शाहु, वशन्तशेणिए! शाहु । अन्धआळं कळिअ अन्तळा वञ्चिदे भावे । अहके[1] दाव वञ्चिदे कूडकावडशीळए । शौव्वहा दुक्खडे कडे ।

विदूषकः—(ख) मा दाव । ण जुत्तमिदं ।

विटः—भो महाब्राह्मण ! अयमनुनयसर्वस्वमञ्जलिः ।

विदूषकः—(ग) भोदु भोदु । अणवरद्धो भवं । अणुणीदो अहं एव्व एत्थ अवरद्धो ।

(क) अविहा दरिद्रसार्थवाहपुत्रस्य चारुदत्तबटुकस्य चेटी खल्वियं, न भवति वसन्तसेना । साधु वसन्तसेने! साधु । अन्धकारं कृत्वान्तरा वञ्चितो भावः । अहं तावद् वञ्चितः कूटकापटशीलया । सर्वथा दुष्करं कृतम् ।

(ख) मा तावत् । न युक्तमिदम् ।

(ग) भवतु भवतु । अनपराद्धो भवान् । अनुनीतोऽहमेवात्रापराद्धः ।

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१. 'के चापि भंचिदे' ख. पाठः.

bound for Chaldea would have to run up the Straits of Hormuz to the mouths of the Euphrates" in order to reach the Celestial Empire, thus disposing once for all of Ptolemy's theory of a great southern continent enclosing the Indian Ocean upon which the land of the Sinæ, or southern Chinese, was formerly supposed to be situated. Cosmas, too, as Yule remarks, "was the earliest writer to speak of China in a matter-of-fact way, and not as a country enveloped in a half-mythical haze." In his work, therefore, we find the first written record of an appreciation on the part of a European of the true relative positions of China and of the lands of south-eastern Asia. The advance in knowledge thus indicated is not great, but it is considerably ahead of that possessed by Ptolemy, and for the sake of the truth which he was the earliest to disseminate we may forgive Cosmas the monk the farrago of nonsense with which he surrounded it, and also much of his bigotry and rage.

Meanwhile inter-Asiatic intercourse by means of the sea-routes had been steadily on the increase. It was the energy and the enterprise of Hippalus, a Greek,—or so we are led to believe by the classical writers who are on this point our only authorities—which showed the way to the Arabs and the Persians across the Indian Ocean, but during the centuries which followed upon his discovery, though an immense trade was in the hands of the merchants of Alexandria, the greatest sea-power in this quarter of the world, after the decline of the Roman Empire, was that of the Persians. As early as the middle of the second century the Romans had es-

शकारः—(क) भावे! दिट्टं खु भाआशि † तं दलिद्दशत्थ-वाहपुत्तं चाळुदत्तवडुअं ।

विटः—सत्यं भीतोऽस्मि ।

शकारः—(ख) किश्श भावे! किश्श ।

विटः—तस्य गुणेभ्यः । पश्यतु भवान् .

स मद्विधानां प्रणयैः कृशीकृतो
न तस्य कश्चिद् विभवैरमण्डितः ।
निदाघसंशुष्क इव ह्रदो महान्
नृणां तु तृष्णामपनीय शुष्यति ॥ २६ ॥

महाब्राह्मण! अयमर्थः सार्थवाहपुत्रस्य न कथयितव्यः ।

(निष्क्रान्तो विटः ।)

शकारः—(ग) मालिश! वडुअ! मालिश! भणेहि तं दलिद्दशत्थवाहपुत्तं चालुदत्तवडुअं मम वअणेण—लाअशाळे शण्ठाणे शवट्टेण शीशेण अणुबन्ध भणादि—णाडअइत्थिआ वशन्तशेणिआ णाम गणिआदारिआ शुवण्णवण्णा दुवेहि

(क) भाव! इदं खलु बिभेषि तं दरिद्रसार्थवाहपुत्रं चारुदत्तबटुकम् ।

(ख) कस्माद् भाव! कस्माद् ।

(ग) मारिष! बटुक! मारिष! भण तं दरिद्रसार्थवाहपुत्रं चारुदत्तबटुकं मम वचनेन—राजश्यालः संस्थानकः सपट्टेन शीर्षेणानुबन्ध्य भणति—नाटकस्त्री वसन्तसेना नाम गणिकादारिका सुवर्णवर्णा द्वाभ्यामावाभ्यां बलात्कारेण

† 'उव्विग्गिअ' इति शेषः ।

tablished trading-stations at Aden, on the shores of Arabia and in Socotra, while during the same period the commerical relations between the Persians and India had undergone a great expansion. Before the first half of the fifth century had ended this commerce had been considerably extended while the Roman trade had declined, and according to Masudi and Hamza of Ispahan the port of Hira was visited at this time by numbers of vessels, not only from the mainland of India, but also from distant China. The rise of the Muhammadan power, while it closed the portals of the East to the nations of Europe, gave to the Muslims the practical monopoly of Asiatic trade with the West, and during their prime the Khalifs of Baghdad were well-nigh supreme in the Indian Ocean. Muhammadan colonies were scattered broadcast over the eastern world, and in 758 the followers of the Prophet in China were sufficiently numerous to be able to cause serious disturbances in that country. The existence of these colonies too made it possible for a Muslim to travel with ease in almost any quarter of the East, and the excellent Ibn Batuta, the professional religious man who preyed upon the Faithful with such satisfaction to himself and to his victims, though he was one of the earliest to give to us a detailed account of his wanderings, was certainly not among the first Muhammadans to take advantage of the opportunities which the accident of their religion afforded to them.

It has already been noted that no mention of the sea-route to China occurs in any work prior to that of Mari-

अम्मेहि बळक्कारेण णीअमाणा महन्तेण शुवण्णाळङ्कारेण तव गेहं पविट्ठा। शा शुवे णिय्याअइदव्वा[1]। मा दाव तव अ मम अ दालुणो खोहो होदि त्ति। वडुअ! माळिश! इदं च भणाहि—मा दाशीएपुत्त! वारावदगळप्पविट्ठं विअ मूळकन्दं शीशकवाळं मडमडाइश्शं। मा खु कवाडशम्पुडप्पविट्ठं विअ पक्ककवित्थं शीशं दे चुण्णचुण्णं मडमडाइश्शं ति।

विदूषकः—(क) भो! तह। (शकारं दीपेनोद्वेजयति।)

शकारः—(सर्वतो विलोक्य) (ख) कहिं भावे। गदे भावे। अविहा भावे!।

(निष्क्रान्तः शकारः।)

विदूषकः—(ग) किदं देवकय्यं ति तत्तहोदो णिवेदइस्सामो। भोदि! अवणीअदु दे हिअअमण्णू। अअं वुत्तन्तो अब्भन्तरं ण पेसिदव्वो।

नीयमाना महता सुवर्णालङ्कारेण तव गेहं प्रविष्टा। सा श्वो निर्यातयितव्या। मा तावत् तव च मम च दारुणः क्षोभो भवतीति। वटुक! मारिष! इदं च भण—मा दास्याःपुत्र! पारावतगलप्रविष्टमिव मूलकन्दं शीर्षकपालं मडमडायिष्ये। मा खलु कवाटसम्पुटप्रविष्टमिव पक्वकपित्थं शीर्षं ते चूर्णचूर्णं मडमडायिष्ये इति।

(क) भोः! तथा।

(ख) क भावः। गतो भावः। अविहा भाव!।

(ग) कृतं देवकार्यमिति तत्रभवतो निवेदयिष्यावः। भवति! अपनीयतां ते हृदयमन्युः। अयं वृत्तान्तोऽभ्यन्तरं न प्रेषयितव्यः।

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[1] 'णीआअ' क पाठः.

nus of Tyre, despite the fact that the overland route from India to the Celestial Empire had been in general use from a very remote period. It is certain, however, that the existence of the former means of communication must have been known to the mariners of the Far East long before any rumour concerning it filtered through to the geographers of Europe. The overland route was still much frequented as late as the thirteenth century, when the Polos passed over it on their journey to China, and its greater antiquity would suffice to account for the fact that it was familiarly known to traders from the West who visited India long before the sea-passage had been heard of by them. It is none the less impossible to believe that the latter highway was unknown, at any rate to the natives of Southern China, some time before the beginning of our era. The Chinese civilisation is one of the most ancient in existence, presenting as it does the twin marvel of an immense antiquity and of a precocious development inexplicably arrested. The Chinese are said to have understood the use of the mariner's compass as early as B. C. 2634, and though there is reason to question the accuracy of this statement, their written records concerning the properties of the lodestone date from early in the second century of our era, and it is thought that the compass was in practical use long before the earliest treatise of this kind which has come down to us. If this were so, it is at least possible that Chinese seamen were accustomed to venture out of sight of land before ever Hippalus made his way across the Indian Ocean, and a glance at the map will show that

चेटी—(क) अय्य! रदणिआ खु अहं।

विदूषकः—(ख) एहि गच्छामो।

(उभौ परिक्रामतः।)

नायकः—भद्रे! कृतं देवकार्यम्।

गणिका—(आत्मगतम्) (ग) परिजणत्ति मं सद्दावेदि। भोदु, रक्खिदह्मि।

नायकः—मारुताभिलाषी प्रदोषः। तद् गृह्यतां प्रावारकम्।

गणिका—(प्रावारकं गृहीत्वा सहर्षम्) (घ) अणुदासीणं जोव्वणं से पडवासगन्धो सूएदि।

नायकः—रदनिके! प्रवेश्यतामभ्यन्तरचतुःशालम्।

गणिका—(आत्मगतम्) (ङ) अभाइणी अहं अब्भन्तरप्पवेसस्स।

नायकः—किमिदानीं न प्रविशसि।

(क) आर्य! रदनिका खल्वहम्।

(ख) एहि गच्छावः।

(ग) परिजन इति मां शब्दापयति। भवतु, रक्षितास्मि।

(घ) अनुदासीनं यौवनमस्य पटवासगन्धः सूचयति।

(ङ) अभागिन्यहमभ्यन्तरप्रवेशस्य।

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१. ब्ब ख. पाठः.

few opportunities for doing so would occur unless voyages from the point of Kambodia to the Malay Peninsula and the islands of the Archipelago, or again from the Straits of Malacca to Ceylon and India had become habitual.

We may conclude with a fair show of probability that the littorals of the China Sea, the Gulf of Siam and the Straits of Malacca were explored by the seamen of China not earlier than the coast-line between the mouths of the Indus and the Straits of Hormuz was skirted by the fleet of Alexander under Nearchus in the fourth century B. C.

Again, the unmistakable impress of Hindu influence which is to be detected in the architecture of the Khmers of Kambodia, several of whose buildings date from 200 B. C., demonstrates the fact that intercourse between India and Indo-China must have been frequent at a very early period, and such intercourse would almost certainly have been conducted by sea. It has even been accepted by many as a fact that Gauthama Buddha himself visited Kambodia, and if this were so—the matter is one which is hardly susceptible of mathematical proof—it would presuppose communication between India and Indo-China as early as 500 B. C.

Owing to the fact, already noted, that after the rise of the Muhammadan power the sea-borne trade between western and eastern Asia passed almost exclusively into the hands of Muslims, the first detailed accounts of the sea-route to China come to us from the Arabian and Persian geographers. The earliest Arabic manuscript of this kind belongs to the year A. D. 851, and has been edited and translated by M. Reinaud, the French Ori-

गणिका—(क) इदाणिं अहं किं भणिस्सं ।

नायकः—रदनिके! किं विलम्बसे ।

(रदनिकाविदूषकावुपसृत्य)

चेटी—(ख) भट्टिदारअ! इअ ह्मि ।

नायकः—इयमिदानीं का ।

अविज्ञातप्रयुक्तेन धर्षिता मम वाससा ।
संवृता शरदभ्रेण चन्द्रलेखेव शोभते ॥ २७ ॥

गणिका—(आत्मगतम्) (ग) दीवाळोअसूइदरूवो[1] सो एव्व दाणि[2] एसो, जस्स किदे अहं णिस्सासमत्तळक्खिदं सरीरं उव्वहामि ।

विदूषकः—(घ) भो चारुदत्त! राअसाळो सण्ठाणो सवट्टेण सीसेण[3] अणुबन्दिअ विण्णवेदि—णाडइत्थिआ वसन्तसेणिआ[4] णाम गणिआदारिआ अह्मेहि बळक्कारेण णीअमाणा

(क) इदानीमहं किं भणिष्यामि ।

(ख) भर्तृदारक! इयमस्मि ।

(ग) दीपालोकसूचितरूपः स एवेदानीमेषः, यस्य कृतेऽहं निःश्वासमात्रलक्षितं शरीरमुद्वहामि ।

(घ) भोः चारुदत्त! राजस्यालः संस्थानः सपट्टेन शीर्षेणानुबन्ध्य विज्ञापयति—नाटकस्त्री वसन्तसेना नाम गणिकादारिकास्माभिर्बलात्कारेण नीयमाना

१. 'रुव्वोसो' क. पाठः. २. 'दि णि' ख. पाठः. ३. 'ण व' क. पाठः. ४. 'णा णा' ख. पाठः.

entalist. The first few pages of this work are lost, but its earlier portion was obviously written by one who had himself made the China voyage. The second part of the book dates from the year 916, and is the work of a certain Abu Zaid Hassan, a native of Siraf on the Persian Gulf, who, though he does not appear to have had any personal experience of the trade-route dealt with, must have enjoyed opportunities of obtaining first-hand information from those who had themselves made the voyage. The portion of the book written by the merchant-mariner is in the nature of sailing directions, and the Arab's genius for mispronouncing foreign tongues, which is second only to that of the Englishman, causes the proper names given in the manuscript to present a series of puzzles to the enquirer. M. Reinaud himself would appear to have completely misunderstood the route indicated, and by far the best identification which has yet been suggested is to be found in an article from the pen of M. Alfred Maury in the *Bulletin de Géographie* for the year 1846.

It would be tedious to examine in detail the grounds for the identification of the various seas and lands there set forth, but the facts to be gathered from an examination of the somewhat wearisome itinerary laid down in the manuscript are that ships sailing from India for China took, during the ninth century, approximately the following course. After touching at Ceylon and the Nicobars, they came to anchor in a port near the northeastern extremity of Sumatra. Thence, after occasionally touching at a State on the western coast of the Malay Penin-

महन्तेण सुवण्णालङ्कारेण तुह्माणं गेहं पविट्ठा । सा सुवे णिय्याअइदव्वत्ति ।

गणिका—(क) हं बळक्कारेण णीअमाणत्ति[1] णं भणादि । भोदु, अअं पत्तकाळो । (प्रकाशम्) अय्य ! सरणागदह्मि ।

नायकः—न भेतव्यं न भेतव्यम् । किं वसन्तसेनैषा ।

विदूषकः—(ख) अविहा वसन्तसेणा । (क इव ?) । (अपवार्य) भो चारुदत्त ! वसन्तसेणा खु इअं, जा भवदा कामदेवाणुआणप्पहुदि णअणमत्तसंत्थुदा सण्णिहिदमणोभवेण हिअएण उव्वहीअदि । ता पेक्खदु इअं[2] ।

नायकः—वयस्य ! पश्याम्येनां,

> यत्र मे पतितः कामः क्षीणे विभवविस्तरे[3] ।
> रोषः कुपुरुषस्येव स्वाङ्गेष्वेवावसीदति ॥ २८ ॥

महता सुवर्णालङ्कारेण युष्माकं गेहं प्रविष्टा । सा श्वो निर्यातयितव्येति ।

(क) हं बलात्कारेण नीयमानेति ननु भणति । भवतु, अयं प्राप्तकालः । आर्य ! शरणागतास्मि ।

(ख) अविहा वसन्तसेना । (क इव ?) । भोः चारुदत्त ! वसन्तसेना खल्वियं, या भवता कामदेवानुयानप्रभृति नयनमात्रसंस्तुता सन्निहितमनोभवेन हृदयेनोदुह्यते । तत् पश्यत्विमाम् ।

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१. 'णि मं भ' क. पाठः. २. 'अं', ३. 'समये ।' ख. पाठः.

sula, they made their way to the southern outlet of the Straits of Malacca, halted at the island of Bentan to take in fuel and water, or for similar purposes at an island of the Natuna group, came to port once more at some harbour either of the eastern shores of the Malay Peninsula, Siam or Kambodia, passed on to Champa, and thence to Zayton or some other port of the southern provinces of China. It will be noted that the route thus traced is practically identical with that over which we have supposed the sailor Alexander to have journeyed, and in a later chapter we shall find that a precisely similar course was followed by all the medieval travellers to and from China of whose wanderings we have a record. The sea-route *via* southeastern Asia had by this time become a well-beaten track, but certain ports of call were used to the exclusion of all others, and the primary value of this great highway was as a means of getting to and from China, few wanderers being tempted to stray from the appointed path which custom had marked out for ships plying in these waters.

The establishment of important commercial colonies in China by the Arabs and the Persians, concerning which Abu Zaid Hassan's portion of the manuscript furnishes some interesting particulars, presupposes that the passage to the Celestial Empire *via* the Straits of Malacca and the China Sea was now made by these people with great frequency, and the ports of call along that route, which seem to have been practically the same from the time of Marinus of Tyre to that of Ibn Batuta who returned from his wanderings in 1347, were also to some

गणिका — (क) अदिण्णभूमिप्पवेसपधरिस[1]णेण अवरद्धा अहं अय्यं सीसेण पसादेमि ।

नायकः — यद्येवमहमपि ताव[2]दविज्ञातप्रयुक्तेन प्रेष्यसमुदाचारेण सापराधो भवतीं प्रसादयामि ।

विदूषकः — (ख) भो ! विवहन्ता इव सअडिअं दुव्विणीदबलीवद्दा अण्णोण्णं सङ्किलेसन्ति । अहं दाणि कं पसादेमि । [3]भोदु, दाणि रदणिअं पसादे[4]मि । रदणिए ! पसीददु पसीददु होदी ।

नायकः[5] — भवति ! परवानस्मि । किमनुतिष्ठति स्नेहः ।

गणिका — (आत्मगतम्) (ग) महुरं खु इच्छिदव्वं । अदक्खिणं खु पठ[6]मदंसणे जइच्छागदाए इह वसिदुं । ता एवं करिस्सं । (प्रकाशम्) जइ मे अय्यो पसण्णो, अअं मे अलङ्कारो इह एव्व चिट्ठदु । अ[7]लङ्कारणिमित्तं पावा मं अणुसरन्ति । अहं पि अय्येण रक्खिदा गेहं गन्तुमिच्छामि ।

(क) अदत्तभूमिप्रवेशप्रधर्षेणेनापराद्धाहमार्यं शीर्षेण प्रसादयामि ।

(ख) भोः ! विवहन्ताविव शकटिकां दुर्विनीतबलीवर्दावन्योन्यं संक्लिश्येते । अहमिदानीं कं प्रसादयामि । भवतु , इदानीं रदनिकां प्रसादयामि । रदनिके ! प्रसीदतु प्रसीदतु भवती ।

(ग) मधुरं खल्वेष्टव्यम् । अदक्षिणं खलु प्रथमदर्शने यदृच्छागतयेह वस्तुम् । तदेवं करिष्यामि । यदि मे आर्यः प्रसन्नः, अयं मेऽलङ्कार इहैव तिष्ठतु । अलङ्कारनिमित्तं पापा मामनुसरन्ति । अहमप्यार्येण रक्षिता गेहं गन्तुमिच्छामि ।

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१. 'सधरिसिदेण', २. 'दआ' क. पाठः. ३. भो! र', ४. 'मि । प', ५. 'कः— प', ६. 'ड', ७. 'एदण्णामि' ख. पाठः.

extent used by the Arabs as settlements and trade depôts. It is obvious from internal evidence furnished by the works of Abu Zaid, of Masudi, Edrisi and Abulfeda that a few Arab mariners turned aside from the beaten track sufficiently far for Java to become a country which was comparatively well-known, but this was the exception, not the rule, and nowhere do we find reason for thinking that the Arabs ever ventured far inland, save only in China itself. In spite of a wider and surer knowledge of Malaya and Indo-China than any which at this time was possessed by Europeans, the notions entertained concerning these regions by the Arabian geographers were still very vague and imperfect. Ptolemy's misapprehension concerning the Mediterranean character of the Indian Ocean was endorsed and perpetuated by successive Arabian geographers, many of whom doubtless arrived at this false conclusion independently of their great predecessor. Some held with him that the African continent was prolonged in such fashion that it lay to the south of Malaya, while others were of opinion that the great southern *terra incognita*, whose existence they had deduced from unknown premises, was divided from Africa by a narrow strait. For the rest, in spite of persistent attempts to treat geographical questions in a scientific manner, and to divide the habitable world into climates, or latitudes and longitudes, the general ideas at which they arrived concerning the comparative sizes and the relative positions of various countries were extraordinarily inexact.

This is well illustrated by the two maps showing the

नायकः—अन्वर्थमुपदिशति । मैत्रेय! गृह्यताम् ।

विदूषकः—(क) ण मे सद्धा ।

नायकः—मूर्ख! गृह्यताम् ।

विदूषकः—(ख) जं भवं आणवेदि । आणेदु भोदी[1]।

(गणिका विमुच्यालङ्कारं प्रयच्छति ।)

विदूषकः—(गृहीत्वा) (ग) रदणिए! गह्ण एदं सुवण्णालङ्कारं तुवं । सट्ठीए सत्तमीए अ धारेहि । अहं अट्ठमीए अणज्झाए[2] धारइस्सं ।

चेटी—(विहस्य) (घ) सत्थं वक्खाणअन्तस्स भट्टिपुत्तस्स तदाणिं अवसरो होदि । आणेदु अय्यो । (गृहीत्वा निष्क्रान्ता ।)

नायकः—कोऽत्र भोः! । दीपिका तावत् ।

विदूषकः—(ङ) भो! दीविआ गणिआ विअ णिस्सिणेहा संवुत्ता ।

(क) न मे श्रद्धा ।

(ख) यद् भवानाज्ञापयति । आनयतु भवती ।

(ग) रदनिके! गृहाणैतं सुवर्णालङ्कारं त्वम् । षष्ठ्यां सप्तम्यां च धारय । अहमष्टम्यामनध्याये धारयिष्यामि ।

(घ) शास्त्रं व्याचक्षाणस्य भर्तृपुत्रस्य तदानीमवसरो भवति । आनयत्वार्यः ।

(ङ) भोः! दीपिका गणिकेव निःस्नेहा संवृत्ता ।

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१. 'हो', २. 'ज्झा' ख. पाठः.

world according to Masudi and Edrisi respectively, here reproduced from M. Reinaud's excellent edition of *La Géographie d' Aboulféda.* Masudi, who wrote during the first half of the tenth century and who was a contemporary of Abu Zaid Hassan, had not only travelled extensively, but was also well versed in the literature of his subject and had had access to older Arabic works which have since been lost to us. His book therefore represented the widest and soundest geographical knowledge of his time, yet a glance at the chart which puts his conception of the universe before us in a convenient form suffices to demonstrate how radical were many of his misconceptions concerning the form and nature of the earth's surface, and how great was his confusion in matters of detail. For him Indo-China and Malaya consisted of one lozenge-shaped peninsula to the south of which lay Sumatra in the same latitude as Ceylon, while Java was situated further to the eastward almost on the same parallel. China itself was also a peninsula, separated from that of Indo-China by a great gulf, while far to the south of all lay a vast *terra incognita* which had its beginning near the south of the Sudan.

Edrisi's chart is even more confusing, although its author who lived and wrote under King Roger II of Sicily, completed his work in 1153–54. He fills almost the whole of the southern hemisphere with the African continent, makes the Mediterranean occupy an altogether disproportionate space in the universe, vastly exaggerates the size of Sicily and of Ceylon, while to neither India nor China does he give the prominence which rightly

नायकः—कृतं दीपिकया । (विलोक्य) उदितो[1] भगवान् सर्वजनसामान्यप्रदीपश्चन्द्रः[2] । अतः खलु,

उदयति हि शशाङ्कः क्लिन्नखर्जूरपाण्डु-
युंवतिजनसहायो राजमार्गप्रदीपः ।
तिमिरनिचयमध्ये रश्मयो यस्य गौरा
हतजल इव पङ्के क्षीरधाराः पतन्ति ॥ २९ ॥

भवति ! राजमार्गे[3] निष्क्रमणः* क्रियताम् । सखे ! अनुगच्छात्र-भवतीम् ।

विदूषकः—(क) जं भवं आणवेदि । एदु एदु भोदी[4] ।

(निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे ।)

प्रथमोऽङ्कः ।

(क) यद् भवानाज्ञापयति । एत्वेतु भवती ।

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१. 'तः खलु भ', २. 'न्द्रमाः ।', ३. 'गंनि', ४. 'हो' ख. पाठः.

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* निष्क्रमणमिति क्लीबत्वं युक्तम् । अथवा 'कोऽसावनुमानः' 'इतिकरणः क्रियते' इति महाभाष्यप्रयोगवत् पुंस्त्वं स्यात् ।



THE WORLD, ACCORDING TO EDRISI.



THE WORLD, ACCORDING TO MASUDI.

[Face page 22.

अथ द्वितीयोऽङ्कः ।

(ततः प्रविशति गणिका चेटी च ।)

गणिका —(क) तदो तदो ।

चेटी —(ख) अम्महे ण किञ्चि मए भणिदं । किं तदो तदो त्ति ।

गणिका —(ग) हञ्जे ! किं मए मन्तिदं ।

चेटी —(घ) अज्जुए ! सिणेहो पुच्छदि, ण पुरोभा(अ[1]इ)दाए* । किं चिन्तीअदि ।

गणिका —(ङ) हञ्जे ! तुमं दाव किं त्ति तक्केसि ।

(क) ततस्ततः ।

(ख) अम्महे न किञ्चिन्मया भणितम् । किं ततस्तत इति ।

(ग) हञ्जे! किं मया मन्त्रितम् ।

(घ) अज्जुके! स्नेहः पृच्छति, न पुरोभागिनया । किं चिन्त्यते ।

(ङ) हञ्जे! त्वं तावत् किमिति तर्कयसि ।

१. 'अ' ग. पाठः.

* 'पुरोभाइदा' इति प्रथमान्त हृद्यम् ।

चेटी—(क) अप्पओअणदाए गणिआभावस्स अज्जुआ कं पि कामेदि त्ति तक्केमि ।

गणिका—(ख) सुट्ठु तुए किदं* । अवच्चिदा दे दिट्ठी । ईदिसवण्णच्चेव[§] ।

चेटी—(ग) अणलंकिदं पि अज्जुअं मण्डिदं विअ पेक्खामि । कामो हि भअवं अणवगीदो ऊसुवो तरुणजणस्स ।

गणिका—(घ) हदासे ! उक्कण्ठिदव्वे का दे रदी ।

चेटी—(ङ) अज्जुए ! इच्छामि पुच्छिदुं बहुमाणो(वि ?-इ)अरमणीओ कोच्चि राअकुमारो ।

गणिका—(च) रमिदुं इच्छामि, ण सेविदुं ।

(क) अप्रयोजनतया गणिकाभावस्याज्जुका कमपि कामयते इति तर्कयामि ।

(ख) सुष्ठु त्वया कृतम् । अवक्षिता ते दृष्टिः । ईदृशवर्णेव ।

(ग) अनलङ्कृतामप्यज्जुकां मण्डितामिव पश्यामि । कामो हि भगवाननवगीत उत्सवस्तरुणजनस्य ।

(घ) हताशे! उत्कण्ठितव्ये का ते रतिः ।

(ङ) अज्जुके! इच्छामि प्रष्टुं बहुमानोचितरमणीयः कश्चिद् राजकुमारः ।

(च) रन्तुमिच्छामि, न सेवितुम् ।

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१. 'एकप्प' ख. पाठः.

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* 'तक्किदं' इति स्यात् । § ईदृशो वर्णः प्रकारो यस्याः सैवाहमित्यर्थः ।

belongs to it. When he passes to the eastward of Al Rami, or Sumatra, he becomes involved in inextricable confusion.

An examination of these two charts will serve better than aught else to bring home to the reader the exceedingly rudimentary state of geographical knowledge even as late as the twelfth century, yet it must be remembered that at this period the geographers of Arab nationality were far in advance of Europeans, and that, notwithstanding their many errors, substantial progress is shown by their work if it be compared with the shadowy surmises and guesses of Marinus and Ptolemy, more especially with regard to southeastern Asia.

चेटी——(क) किण्णुखु विज्जाविसेसरमणीओ को(च्चि) बह्मणदारओ।

गणिका——(ख) अत्थि अदिबहुमदो विस्संभो। पूअणीओ खु सो जणो।

चेटी——(ग) किण्णुहु वणिजेदारओ कोच्चि आगेन्तुओ।

गणिका——(घ) उम्मत्तिए! आसाच्छेदं उक्कण्ठन्ता का सहेदि।

चेटी——(ङ) किं ण सक्कं सोदुं। को अह्माणं मणोरहा-उत्तो।

गणिका——(च) किं तुवं कामदेवाणुयाणे ण आअदा सि।

चेटी——(छ) णं आअदह्मि।

गणिका——(ज) केण उदासीणं मन्तेसि।

(क) किन्नुखलु विद्याविशेषरमणीयः कश्चिद् ब्राह्मणदारकः।

(ख) अस्त्यतिबहुमतो विस्रम्भः। पूजनीयः खलु स जनः।

(ग) किन्नुखलु वणिग्दारकः कश्चिदागन्तुकः।

(घ) उन्मत्तिके! आशाच्छेदमुत्कण्ठमाना का सहते।

(ङ) किं न शक्यं श्रोतुम्। कोऽस्माकं मनोरथावुत्तः।

(च) किं त्वं कामदेवानुयाने नागतासि।

(छ) नन्वागतास्मि।

(ज) केनोदासीनं मन्त्रयसे।

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१. 'ज्ज' क. पाठः. २. 'अ' ख. पाठः.

CHAPTER II

THE MEDIEVAL WANDERERS

THE first of the European wanderers in the Far East, the personal narrative of whose adventures has come down to us, is Messer Marco Polo, the Venetian. The wonderful story of the great overland journey made by this traveller in the company of his father and uncle when they set out from Constantinople "to traverse the world," will be dealt with in a separate volume, and need not here be recapitulated in detail. For us the travels of Marco Polo begin and end with his passage across the seas and amidst the islands of south-eastern Asia on his return journey from Cathay to Europe. And once again the fate, which we have noted as dooming the Indo-Chinese peninsula to obscurity, causes this portion of Marco Polo's narrative to be more tangled and more destitute of detail than almost any other chapters in his book. The slovenliness of his descriptions of the countries between Champa, or Chamba, as he calls it, and Ceylon, and the scant measure of reliable fact which is to be extracted from his account of his journey, moved the late Mr. John Crawfurd to contemptuous indignation. "The information communicated," he declares, "is more like what might be expected from a Chinese than a European traveller, and the author who had gone to China at eighteen, and lived there for twenty

चेटी—(क) भणादु भणादु अज्जुआ भणादु ।

गणिका—(ख) हञ्जे! सुणाहि दाव । अत्थि सत्थवाहपुत्तो चारुदत्तो णाम ।

चेटी[1]—(ग) जेण सरणागदा तुवं रक्खिदा ।

गणिका—(घ) सो एव्व ।

चेटी—(ङ) हद्धि, दरिद्दो खु सो ।

गणिका—(च) अदो खु कामीअदि[2] । अदिदरिद्दपुरुस[3]-सत्ता गणिआ अवअणीआ होइ ।

चेटी—(छ) अज्जुए! उद्धूदपुप्फं सहआरं महुअराओ उवासन्ति ।

गणिका—(ज) हञ्जे! एवं उवासन्ति । दे महुअरा त्ति(पुच्छीअन्ति ?) ।

(क) भणतु भणत्वज्जुका भणतु ।

(ख) हञ्जे! शृणु तावत् । अस्ति सार्थवाहपुत्रश्चारुदत्तो नाम ।

(ग) येन शरणागता त्वं रक्षिता ।

(घ) स एव ।

(ङ) हा धिक्, दरिद्रः खलु सः ।

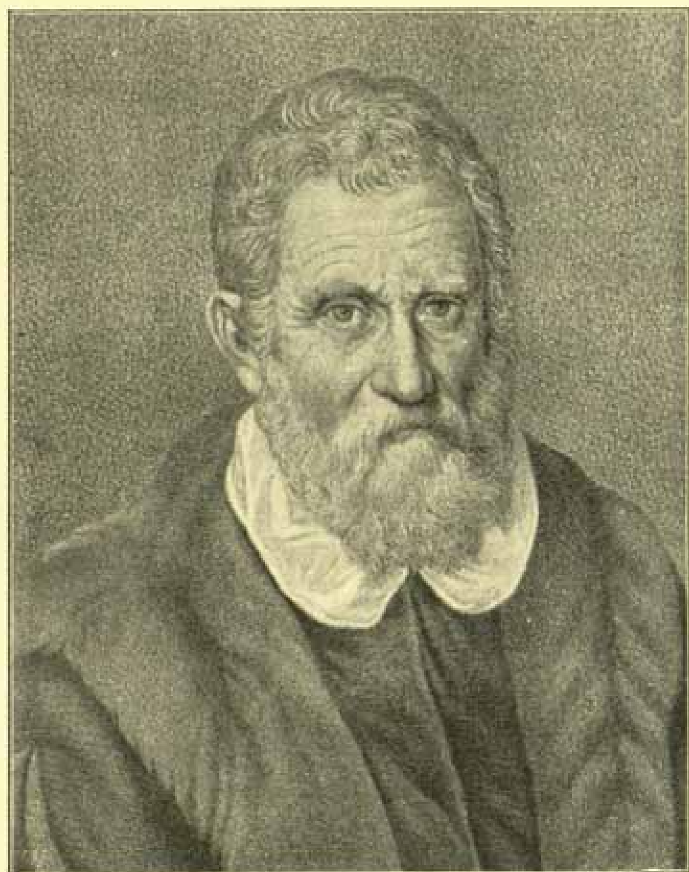
(च) अतः खलु काम्यते । अतिदरिद्रपुरुषसक्ता गणिका अवचनीया भवति ।

(छ) अज्जुके! उद्धूतपुष्पं सहकारं मधुकरा उपासते ।

(ज) हञ्जे! एवमुपासते । ते मधुकरा इति (पुच्छीअन्ति ?) ।

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१. 'टी—अज्जुए! जे', २. 'दि । द'., ३. 'रि' ख. पाठः.



MARCO POLO, FROM A PAINTING IN THE GALLERY OF MONSIGNORE BADIA AT ROME.
The Book of Ser Marco Polo (by permission of Mr. John Murray).

[*Face page* 24.

चेटी—(क) किं, विहवमन्ददाए वेसवासप्पसङ्गकादरो दुक्खं त्ति जइ ण आअच्छे।

गणिका—(ख) णं अहं तं कामेमि।

चेटी—(ग) जइ एत्तओ बहुमाणो, किं णाभिसरीअदि

गणिका—(घ) ण हु ण गच्छामि। किन्तु सहसा अभिसरिदो पच्चुअआरदुल्लभदाए पुणो मे दुल्लभो भवे त्ति विलम्बेमि।

चेटी—(ङ) हं, किं एतण्णिमित्तं तहिं एव्व सो अल-ङ्कारो ट्ठाविदो।

गणिका—(च) ईदिसं एव्व।

(ततः प्रविशत्यपटाक्षेपेण संवाहकः।)

संवाहकः—(छ) अय्ये! सरणागदो ह्मि।

(क) किं, विभवमन्दतया वेशवासप्रसङ्गकातरो दुःखमिति यदि नागच्छेत्।

(ख) नन्वहं तं कामये।

(ग) यद्येतावान् बहुमानः, किं नाभिसियते।

(घ) न खलु न गच्छामि। किन्तु सहसाभिसृतः प्रत्युपकारदुर्लभतया पुनर्मे दुर्लभो भवेदिति विलम्बे।

(ङ) हं, किमेतन्निमित्तं तत्रैव सोऽलङ्कारः स्थापितः।

(च) ईदृशमेव।

(छ) आर्ये! शरणागतोऽस्मि।

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१. 'टी-हि' ख. पाठः.

गणिका—(क) अळं अय्यस्स सम्भमेण ।

चेटी—(ख) हं, को दाणि एसो ।

गणिका—(ग) उम्मत्तिए ! किं सरणाअदो पुच्छीअदि ।

चेटी—(घ) अविणाम साहसिओ भवे ।

गणिका—(ङ) उम्मात्तिए ! गुणवन्तो रक्खिदव्वो होदि ।

संवाहकः—(च) अय्ये ! णं भएण उवआरो विस्सरिदो, ण परिभवेण । पेक्खदु अय्या, भीदाह वा पधरिसिदाह वा आवण्णाह वा सुळभचारित्तवञ्चणाह वा अवराहेदुं समत्था* होन्ति ।

गणिका—(छ) भोदु भोदु । विस्सत्थो भोदु अय्यो । गणिआ खु अहं ।

संवाहकः—(ज) अभिजणेण । ण सीळेण ।

(क) अलमार्यस्य सम्भ्रमेण ।

(ख) हं, क इदानीमेषः ।

(ग) उन्मत्तिके ! किं शरणागतः पृच्छ्यते ।

(घ) अपिनाम साहसिको भवेत् ।

(ङ) उन्मत्तिके ! गुणवान् रक्षितव्यो भवति ।

(च) आर्ये ! ननु भयेनोपचारो विस्मृतः, न परिभवेण । पश्यत्वार्या, भीता वा प्रधर्षिता वा आपन्ना वा सुलभचारित्रवञ्चना वा अपराधयितुं समर्था भवन्ति ।

(छ) भव॒ भवतु । विश्वस्तो भवत्वार्यः । गणिका खल्वहम् ।

(ज) अभिजनेन । न शीलेन ।

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* 'शक्या' इत्यर्थः ।

years, was probably in his turn of thinking as much a Chinese as a European." What hampered Marco Polo in his observations of southeastern Asia far more materially than any accident of training, however, was that after traversing the entire continent, and living for a score of years in the land of the Great Kaan, the comparative insignificance of the countries of the Malay Archipelago must have struck him with peculiar force. There is internal evidence of some such attitude of mind in many of his references to these regions. In several passages Polo is constantly to be detected comparing everything he saw with that greater world of Cathay in which so large a portion of his life had been spent, and it is not wonderful, therefore, if he dismissed with a bare mention lands and peoples which fell so far short of the standard whereby he scaled them.

Setting out from the port of Zayton in the province of Fokien, Marco relates that "after sailing for some three months" he and his shipmates arrived "at a certain island towards the south which is called Java. . . . Quitting this island they continued to navigate the Sea of India for eighteen months before they arrived whither they were bound," *viz.*, at Hormuz. The journey was made in immense Chinese junks, several of which carried crews of 250 or 260 men. The Java of which Marco Polo here speaks is not Java proper, but "Java the Less," as he elsewhere names it, or in other words, Sumatra. To the voyage to the mouth of the Straits of Malacca, therefore, must be added the run up the coast of Sumatra to a point near its northeastern extremity, an insignificant

गणिका—(क) हञ्जे ! एव्वं विअ ।

चेटी—(ख) अज्जुआ अय्यं पुच्छदि, कुदो अय्यस्स भअं ति ।

संवाहकः—(ग) अय्ये ! धणिआदो ।

गणिका—(घ) जइ एव्वं, आसणं देदु अय्यस्स ।

चेटी—(ङ) तह । (आसनं ददाति ।)

गणिका—(च) उवविसदु अय्यो ।

संवाहकः—(छ) पूआविसेसेण जाणामि कय्यं ति । (उपविशति ।)

गणिका—(ज) हञ्जे! एव्वं विअ ।

चेटी—(झ) अज्जुए ! तह । अय्य ! राअमग्गे विस्सत्थसम्पादं अय्यं कादुं इच्छदि अज्जुआ । कस्स किं कत्तव्वं ।

(क) हञ्जे! एवमिव ।

(ख) अज्जुकार्यं पृच्छति, कुत आर्यस्य भयमिति ।

(ग) आर्ये! धनिकात् ।

(घ) यद्येवम्, आसनं दीयतामार्यस्य ।

(ङ) तथा ।

(च) उपविशत्वार्यः ।

(छ) पूजाविशेषेण जानामि कार्यमिति ।

(ज) हञ्जे! एवमिव ।

(झ) अज्जुके! तथा । आर्य! राजमार्गे विश्वस्तसम्पातमार्यं कर्तुमिच्छत्यज्जुका । कस्य किं कर्तव्यम् ।

distance it is true, but one which a sailing vessel may take a long time in covering, since in these sheltered waters navigation is not aided by the constant winds of the monsoon. When every allowance has been made, however, it must be confessed that Marco Polo's journey from China to Sumatra occupied a prodigious time.

When, therefore, Sumatra was at last reached the force of the northeast monsoon was spent, and Marco Polo and his comrades had to make up their minds to a five months' stay upon the island while they awaited the return of a favourable wind.

Concerning the lands of southeastern Asia he has no very illuminating information to supply. Champa, or Chamba, was to him remarkable chiefly because it was a "very rich region, having a King of its own," whose children numbered 326 souls! He notes the vast quantity of tame elephants in use in this country, the "abundance" of lignaloes, and the existence of extensive forests of a jet-black timber, called *bonús*, but his account of Kublai Kaan's attempts to subdue the country is startlingly inaccurate. His description of Java—not "Java the Less," but the smaller and richer island over which the Dutch flag flies to-day—is hardly more exact, and it is plain that, lying as it does far from the highway between China and the West, he never personally visited it. He greatly overestimates its size, mentions that its king had no over-lord, and credits it with many vegetable products which it does not produce, the fact being that Java was at this period the great emporium of the trade of the Malayan Archipelago, the produce of the islands

संवाहकः—(क) सुणादु अय्या।

गणिका—(ख) अवहिदह्मि।

संवाहकः—(ग) पाडलिपुत्तं मे जम्मभूमी। पकिदीए वणिजओ अहं। तदो भाअधेअपरिवुत्तदाए[1] दसाए संवाहअवुत्तिं उवजीवामि।

गणिका—(घ) संवाहओ अय्यो। सुउमारा कळा सिक्खिदा अय्येण।

संवाहकः—(ङ) कळेत्ति सिक्खिदा। आजीविअं दाणिं संवुत्तम्।

गणिका—(च) णिव्वेदसूअअं विअ वअणं अय्यस्स। तदो तदो।

संवाहकः—(छ) अज्जुए! सो दाणिं अहं आअन्तुआणं सुणिअ पुरुसविसेसकोदूहळेण आअदो ह्मि[2] इमं उज्जअणिं।

(क) शृणोत्वार्या।

(ख) अवहितास्मि।

(ग) पाटलिपुत्रं मे जन्मभूमिः। प्रकृत्या वणिगहम्। ततो भागधेयपरिवृत्तया दशया संवाहकवृत्तिमुपजीवामि।

(घ) संवाहक आर्यः। सुकुमारा कला शिक्षितार्येण।

(ङ) कलेति शिक्षिता। आजीवितमिदानीं संवृत्तम्।

(च) निर्वेदसूचकमिव वचनमार्यस्य। ततस्ततः।

(छ) अज्जुके! स इदानीमहमागन्तुकानां श्रुत्वा पुरुषविशेषकौतूहलेनागतोऽस्मीमामुज्जयनीम्।

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१. 'त्ताए', २. 'ह्मि उ' ख. पाठः.

being brought thither and thence distributed to the markets of the world. The islands of Sondur and Condur, 700 miles from Champa, at which Marco's ship would appear to have touched, are the Pûlau Kondor of to-day, once the site of a factory of the British East India Company, and now a penal settlement to which convicts are sent from Saigon, the capital of French Indo-China. Locac—"a good country and a rich; (it is on the mainland); and it has a king of its own. The people are idolaters and have a peculiar language, and pay tribute to nobody, for their country is so situated that no one can enter it to do them ill,"—is also described as yielding brasil "in great plenty; and they also have gold in incredible quantity." "They also," he adds, "have elephants and much game. In this kingdom too are gathered all the porcelain shells which are used for small change in all these regions." The identity of Locac has been much disputed, but the strongest case is made out by Sir Henry Yule, who places it in the Malay Peninsula, somewhere in what is now called Lower Siam.

Marco Polo's Pentam, "a very wild place," 500 miles towards the south, is almost certainly the island of Bentan near the entrance to the Straits of Malacca, "and when you have gone these sixty miles and again about thirty more, you come to an island which forms a kingdom, and is called Malaiur. The people have a king of their own and a peculiar language. The city is a fine and noble one, and there is great trade carried on there, and all other necessaries of life." It is impossible to disregard Polo's distinct assertion that Malaiur was an island, and

गणिका—(क) तदो तदो ।

संवाहकः—(ख) तदो इह आअदमत्त एव्व कोच्चि सत्थवाहपुत्तो समासादिदो ।

गणिका—(ग) केरिसो ।

संवाहकः—(घ) आइदिमन्तो अविब्भमन्तो अणुच्छित्तो ळळिदो ळळिददाए अविह्मओ चउरो महुरो दक्खो सदक्खिञ्ञो अभिमदो आइदो तुट्ठो होदि । दय्य ण विकत्थेदि । अप्पं वि *(सुमरिदुं ?) सुमरदि, बहुअं पि अवइदं विसुमरदि । अज्जुए ! किं बहुणा, तस्स कुळवुत्तस्स गुणाणं चउब्भाअं पि सुदिग्घेण वि गिह्मदिअहेण वण्णिदुं ण सक्कं । किं बहुणा, दक्खिञ्ञदाए परकेरअं विअ अत्तणो सरीरं धारेदि ।

गणिका—(ङ) †हञ्जे ! कोणुखु सो अय्यचारुदत्तस्स गुणाणं अणुकरेदि ।

(क) ततस्ततः ।

(ख) तत इहागतमात्र एव कश्चित् सार्थवाहपुत्रः समासादितः ।

(ग) कीदृशः ।

(घ) आकृतिमान् अविभ्रमन् अनुत्सिक्तो ललितो ललिततयाविस्मयश्चतुरो मधुरो दक्षः सदाक्षिण्योऽभिमत आचितस्तुष्टो भवति । दत्त्वा न विकत्थते । अल्पमपि (सुमरिदुं ?) स्मरति, बहुकमप्यपकृतं विस्मरति । अज्जुके ! किं बहुना, तस्य कुलपुत्रस्य गुणानां चतुर्भागमपि सुदीर्घेणापि ग्रीष्मदिवसेन वर्णयितुं न शक्यम् । किं बहुना, दक्षिणतया परकीयमिवात्मनः शरीरं धारयति ।

(ङ) हञ्जे ! कोनुखलु स आर्यचारुदत्तस्य गुणाननुकरोति ।

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१. 'खु एसो' ख. पाठः.

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* 'उवइदं' इति स्यात् । उपकृतमिति च संस्कृतम् ।   † 'हञ्जे' इत्यतः प्राक् 'अपवार्य' इत्यपेक्षितं भाति ।

further the fact that it is not included in his list of Sumatran kingdoms, wherefore it seems probable that in his day there existed a Malayan state of considerable importance, possibly upon the island on which the town of Singapore now stands.

Sumatra, or "Java the Less," is dealt with in somewhat greater detail. In speaking of Ferlec (Pĕrlak) he says:

"This kingdom, you must know, is so much frequented by the Saracen merchants that they have converted the natives to the Law of Mahommet—I mean the townspeople only, for the hill-people live for all the world like beasts, and eat human flesh, clean or unclean. And they worship this, that, and the other thing; for in fact the first thing they see on rising in the morning, that they do worship for the rest of the day."

We have here yet another proof of the frequency with which the Arab merchants resorted to Malaya, and a hint at the length of that intercourse, for even the more civilised sections of a community do not become converted to an alien faith save after long and intimate association with its professors.

Basma (Pâsei), another Sumatran State, declared itself, Marco Polo tells us, to be subject to the Great Kaan, though it paid him no regular tribute, only sending him presents from time to time. Ibn Batuta, the Arab traveller, when he returned from China some fifty years later, made the voyage in a ship which belonged to "the King of Sumatra" who had been to pay homage to the Emperor, and it is possible that this Muhammadan potentate may

चेटी—(क) मम वि कोदूहळं सोदुं । कोणुहु उज्जअणिं अत्तणो गुणेहि मण्डेदि ।

गणिका—(ख) तदो तदो ।

संवाहकः—(ग) तदो तस्स गुणविक्किणिदसरीरो[1] विस्सरिदकळत्तो उवजीविओ संवुत्तो ।

गणिका—(घ) किं सो दरिद्दो ।

संवाहकः—(ङ) कहं अणाचिक्खिदे अय्या जाणादि ।

गणिका—(च) एअस्सिं दुळ्ळहो गुणविभवो त्ति । तदो तदो ।

चेटी—(छ) को णामं[2] सो अय्यो ।

संवाहकः—(ज) अय्यचारुदत्तो णाम ।

(क) ममापि कौतूहलं श्रोतुम् । कोनुखलूज्जयनीमात्मनो गुणैर्मण्डयति ।

(ख) ततस्ततः ।

(ग) ततस्तस्य गुणविक्रीतशरीरो विस्मृतकलत्र उपजीवी संवृत्तः ।

(घ) किं स दरिद्रः ।

(ङ) कथमनाख्यात आर्या जानाति ।

(च) एकस्मिन् दुर्लभो गुणविभव इति । ततस्ततः ।

(छ) को नाम स आर्यः ।

(ज) आर्यचारुदत्तो नाम ।

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१. 'णी', २. 'म एसो' ख. पाठः.

have been no other than the then Râja of Pâsei. It is in writing of this State that Polo tells us of wild elephants and of "numerous unicorns, which are very nearly as big." His description of these latter monsters is delightful:

"They have hair like that of a buffalo, feet like those of an elephant, and a horn in the middle of the forehead, which is black and very thick. They do no mischief, however, with the horn, but with the tongue alone; for this is covered all over with long and strong prickles (and when savage with any one they crush him under their knees and then rasp him with their tongue). The head resembles that of a wild boar, and they carry it ever bent towards the ground. They delight much to abide in mire and mud. 'Tis a passing ugly beast to look upon, and it is not in the least like that which our stories tell us of as being caught in the lap of a virgin: in fact 'tis altogether different from what we fancied."

Here, in spite of some flowers of fancy, we have no sort of difficulty in recognising the rhinoceros, a truly different creature to the graceful unicorn of our legends; but it is curious that the Sumatran species is *two* horned, and that while it has hair like that of a water-buffalo, it carries its head far more erect than does the one-horned variety commonly met with on the other side of the Straits of Malacca. One cannot help fancying that Polo had actually seen a specimen of the one-horned rhinoceros, and that he subsequently heard of the existence of the creature in Sumatra, for on the whole he describes the animal with wonderful accuracy.

गणिका — (क) जुज्जइ । तदो तदो ।

संवाहकः — (ख) तदो सो विभवमन्ददाए अस्साहीणपरिजणो विसज्जिअकुडुम्बभरणो चारित्तमत्तावसेसो सत्थवाहकुळे पडिवसदि । अहं पि तेण अय्येण अब्भणुञ्ञादो — अण्णं उवचिट्ठदु त्ति । कहं अण्णं एरिसं[1] मणुस्सरअणं ळभेअन्ति, कहं च तस्स कोमळळळिदमहुरसरीरप्परिसकिदत्थं मे हत्थं साहारणसरीरसम्महेण[2] सोअणीअं करिस्सं ति जादणिव्वेदो दड्ढसरीररक्खणत्थं जूदोवजीवी संवुत्तो ।

(गणिका सहर्षबाष्पं चेटीमवलोकयति ।)

चेटी — (ग) तदो तदो ।

संवाहकः[3] — (घ) तदो बहूणि[4] बहूणि दिणाणि मए पराइदेण पुरुसेण कदाइ अहं पि दहसु सुवण्णेसु पराइदो ह्मि ।

(क) युज्यते । ततस्ततः ।

(ख) ततः स विभवमन्दतयास्वाधीनपरिजनो विसर्जितकुटुम्बभरणश्चारित्रमात्रावशेषः सार्थवाहकुले प्रतिवसति । अहमपि तेनार्येणाभ्युनुज्ञातोऽन्यमुपतिष्ठतामिति । कथमन्यमीदृशं मनुष्यरत्नं लभेयेति, कथं च तस्य कोमलललितमधुरशरीरस्पर्शकृतार्थं मे हस्तं साधारणशरीरसंमर्देन शोचनीयं करिष्यामीति जातनिर्वेदो दग्धशरीररक्षणार्थं द्यूतोपजीवी संवृत्तः ।

(ग) ततस्ततः ।

(घ) ततो बहूनि बहूनि दिनानि मया पराजितेन पुरुषेण कदाचिदहमपि दशसु सुवर्णेषु पराजितोऽस्मि ।

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१. 'स' क. पाठः २. 'द्दणेण' ख. पाठः. ३. 'कः—ब' क. पाठः. ४. 'णि दि', ५. 'रि' ख. पाठः.

Another interesting passage about Basma is as follows:

"I may tell you moreover that when people bring home pigmies which they allege come from India, 't is all a lie and a cheat. For these little men, as they call them, are manufactured on this Island, and I will tell you how. You see there is on this Island a kind of monkey which is very small and hath a face like a man's. They take these, and pluck out all the hair, except the hair of the beard and on the breast, and then they dry them and stuff them and daub them with saffron and other things until they look like men. But you see it is all a cheat; for nowhere in India nor anywhere else in the world were there ever men seen so small as these pretended pigmies."

The creature here referred to is obviously the yellow gibbon, found in great numbers in the Malay Peninsula and in Sumatra, an ape of peculiarly human aspect, tail-less, and though of a purely arborial habit unable to walk save upon its hind legs. If Polo is right, the manufacture of "freaks" would seem to be by no means a modern or an American invention!

Of Dagroian, which would seem to have occupied the position of the little State now known as Pêdir, Polo tells us that the natives were in the habit of devouring their ailing relatives, whose death they caused by suffocation as soon as their recovery had been declared to be impossible by the medicine-men. The reason of this custom, as given by Polo, is curious:

"And I assure you," he says, "they do suck the very bones till not a particle of marrow remains in them; for

गणिका—(क) तदो तदो ।

संवाहकः—(ख) तदो अज्ज वेसमग्गे जदृच्छोवणदो समासादिदो ह्मि । तस्स भएण इह पविट्ठो । एवं अय्या जाणादु ।

गणिका—(आत्मगतम्) (ग) अहो अच्चाहिदं । एवं खु मण्णे वासपादपविणासेण पक्खिणो आहिण्डन्ति त्ति । (प्रकाशम्) एवं गदे अत्तकेरओ अय्यो । हळा ! एहि तं जणं विसज्जेहि ।

चेटी—(घ) तह । (निष्क्रान्ता ।)

गणिका—(ङ) ण खु अय्येण अत्थणिमित्ता चिन्ता कादव्वा । अय्यचारुदत्तो एव देदि त्ति अय्यो जाणादु ।

(प्रविश्य)

चेटी—(च) अज्जुए ! विसज्जिदो सो जणो, परितुट्ठो गदो अ ।

(क) ततस्ततः ।

(ख) ततोऽद्य वेशमार्गे यदृच्छोपनतः समासादितोऽस्मि । तस्य भयेनेह प्रविष्टः । एवमार्या जानातु ।

(ग) अहो अत्याहितम् । एवं खलु मन्ये वासपादपविनाशेन पक्षिण आहिण्डन्त इति । एवं गत आत्मीय आर्यः । हला! एहि तं जनं विसर्जय ।

(घ) तथा ।

(ङ) न खल्वार्येणार्थनिमित्ता चिन्ता कर्तव्या । आर्यचारुदत्त एव ददातीत्यार्यो जानातु ।

(च) अज्जुके! विसर्जितः स जनः, परितुष्टो गतश्च ।

१. 'कः—अ' ख. पाठः. २. 'ब', ३. 'दं खु । ए' क. पाठः.

they say that if any nourishment remained in the bones this would breed worms, and then the worms would die for want of food, and the death of these worms would be laid to the charge of the deceased man's soul. And so they eat him up stump and rump. And when they have eaten him they collect his bones and put them in fine chests, and carry them away, and place them in caverns among the mountains where no beast nor other creature can get at them. And you must know also that if they take prisoner a man of another country, and he cannot pay ransom in coin, they kill and eat him straightway. It is a very evil custom and a parlous."

As every one has learned from experience, who has himself made some attempt to collect versions of local superstitions, to examine quaint customs, and to seek for their explanations from the people among whom they prevail, it is fatally easy to misconceive and misinterpret if long and familiar intercourse has not given to the enquirer a very thorough understanding of and sympathy with the native point of view. One and the same practice, regarded from the standpoint of those to whom immemorial usage has made it a matter of course, and from that of the stranger who lights upon it unexpectedly, assumes wholly different aspects and proportions, and to this fact is due more than half the cock-and-bull stories and patently absurd explanations which to this day travellers bring back with them from their sojourns among peoples whom they have imperfectly comprehended.

Of Lambri—the Lambrij of de Barros, the Al Ramni of the Arabs—a State which seems to have been situated

संवाहकः—(क) अणुग्गहिदो ह्मि।

गणिका—(ख) गच्छदु अय्यो सुहिज्जणदंसणेण पीदिं णिव्वत्तेदुं।

संवाहकः—(ग) अज्ज एव कदाई णिव्वेदेण[2] पव्वजेअं। जइ इअं परिअणे सङ्क्रन्ता कळा भवे, तदो अय्याए अणुग्गहिदो भवेअं।

गणिका—(घ) जस्स किदे इअं कळा सिक्खिदा, सो एव्व अय्येण उवचिट्ठिदव्वो भविस्सदि।

संवाहकः—(स्वगतम्) (ङ) णिउणं खु पच्चाचक्खिदो ह्मि। को हि णाम अप्पणा किदं पच्चुअआरेण विणासेदि। (प्रकाशम्) अय्ये! गच्छामि दाव अहं।

गणिका—(च) गच्छदु अय्यो पुणो दंसणाअ।

संवाहकः—(छ) अय्ये! तह। (निष्क्रान्तः।)

(क) अनुगृहीतोऽस्मि।

(ख) गच्छत्वार्यः सुहृज्जनदर्शनेन प्रीतिं निर्वर्तयितुम्।

(ग) अद्यैव कदाचिन्निर्वेदेन प्रव्रजेयम्। यदीयं परिजने सङ्क्रान्ता कला भवेत्, तत आर्ययानुगृहीतो भवेयम्।

(घ) यस्य कृते इयं कला शिक्षिता, स एवार्येणोपस्थातव्यो भविष्यति।

(ङ) निपुणं खलु प्रत्याख्यातोऽस्मि। को हि नामात्मना कृतं प्रत्युपकारेण विनाशयति। आर्ये! गच्छामि तावदहम्।

(च) गच्छत्वार्यः पुनर्दर्शनाय।

(छ) आर्ये! तथा।

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१. 'इ अण्णं पि णि' क. पाठः. २. 'दो अणु', ३. 'न' ख. पाठः. ४. 'म्। ग' क. पाठः.

upon the northern borders of the modern Acheh, Polo tells us that the natives called themselves the subjects of the Great Kaan, that they cultivated brasil, and had "plenty of camphor and all sorts of spices." He also relates that there were here men with tails, "a palm in length," hairless, and "about the thickness of a dog's,"—a very popular fable of the Archipelago which is still current among the natives in many places even in our own time.

Polo's remarks on the subject of the Sumatran States have been examined in some detail, not because they have much intrinsic importance, but because they can claim a certain interest as being the first notes ever made by a European upon the condition of an island of the Malayan Archipelago. Of geographical data little indeed is to be won from a perusal of Messer Marco's book, his itinerary showing, what we already knew, that the sea-route from China *via* southeastern Asia had become a great highway of commerce, and that certain ports of call, known to the Arabs centuries earlier, were still used to the exclusion of all others at the end of the thirteenth century. For the rest we learn that the trade in the distinctive products of the Malayan Archipelago was flourishing in 1296, as it had been, in all probability, before the days of Ptolemy; that the ubiquitous Arab merchants had already established colonies and begun the conversion of the Malays to Muhammadanism on the east coast of Sumatra; and that cannibalism was a marked feature in the customs of the pagan people of the island. All this adds little to the story of explora-

गणिका—(क) हं, सद्दो विअ ।

(प्रविश्य)

चेटः—(ख) विच्छिंत्तिए! विच्छित्तिए! कहिं कहिं अज्जुआ ।

गणिका—(ग) हञ्जे! किं एदं ।

चेटः—(घ) हं, विप्पलद्धो ह्मि । वादाअणणिक्खामिदपुव्वकाआए ओणमिअपओहराए कण्णऊरस्स परिप्फन्दो अज्जुआए जेण ण दिट्ठो ।

गणिका—(ङ) लहुजणस्स सुलहो विह्मओ । किं दे उस्सेअस्स कारणं ।

चेटः—(च) सुणादु अज्जुआ—एसो उग्गवेगेण ओगाहणणिव्वत्तिदेण पस्सुदमदगन्धं राअमग्गं करन्तेण मङ्गलहत्थिणा भद्दकवोदएण अणेअपुरुससङ्कुलेसु राअमग्गेसु उत्तरिअपडविराअदाए अहिअलक्खणीओ कोच्चि प्पव्वइदो समासादिदो ।

(क) हं, शब्द इव ।

(ख) विच्छित्तिके! विच्छित्तिके! कुत्र कुत्राज्जुका ।

(ग) हञ्जे! किमेतत् ।

(घ) हं, विप्रलब्धोऽस्मि । वातायननिष्कामितपूर्वकाययावनमितपयोधरया कर्णपूरस्य परिस्पन्दोऽज्जुकया येन न दृष्टः ।

(ङ) लघुजनस्य सुलभो विस्मयः । किं ते उत्सेकस्य कारणम् ।

(च) शृणोत्वज्जुका—एष उग्रवेगेनावगाहननिवर्तितेन प्रस्नुतमदगन्धं राजमार्गं कुर्वता मङ्गलहस्तिना भद्रकपोतकेनानेकपुरुषसङ्कुलेषु राजमार्गेषूत्तरीयपटविरागतयाधिकलक्षणीयः कश्चित् प्रव्रजितः समासादितः ।

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१. 'ण्णेउर' क. पाठः. २. 'हणि', ३. 'रअन्ते' ख. पाठः.

tion in southeastern Asia, yet we have felt constrained to follow Marco Polo closely because the figure of this early European wanderer is at once so interesting, so picturesque and so romantic, and the imagination is tempted to dwell and linger over the story of the three lonely white men who so far as we have any record, were the first of their kind to sojourn for a season amid the mysterious forests of Malaya—the lands which were fated to become at a later period the heritage of the nations of the West.

The impossibility of fixing even approximately the date which first saw the opening-up of the sea-route to China has already been noted, and though Messer Marco Polo is the earliest European wanderer in the Far East who has become for us articulate, it is possible that many before him penetrated to Cathay or traversed the seas of which he wrote. The wide dissemination of Nestorian Christianity from Jerusalem eastward to Peking, which had taken place by the fourteenth century, argues a closer intercourse between the West and the East *via* the overland route than is generally recognised, while the celebrated inscription disinterred at Sing-an-fu proves that the heretical doctrine was publicly preached in China, and received sanction and encouragement from the authorities, as early as the seventh century. That the intercourse which is thus implied was carried on wholly by land seems the reverse of probable, yet the fact remains that no authentic record of Europeans having travelled through southeastern Asia is to be found earlier than the date of the Polo manuscripts.

गणिका — (क) हं, तदो तदो ।

चेटः — (ख) तदो मए हत्थिहत्थामिद्देताडिअमाणो दन्तन्तरपरिवत्तमाणो हत्थिहत्थपडिदचरणो तदो हा हा विपाडिदो हा हा हदो त्ति जणवादे संवुत्ते तदो दिण्णकरप्पहारेण परिवत्तिदं हत्थिं करिअ मोइदो सो परिव्वाजो ।

गणिका — (ग) पिअं मे । तदो तदो ।

चेटः — (घ) तदो सव्वो जणो भणादि — अहो चेडस्स कम्म त्ति । ण उण कोच्चि किं पि इच्छइ दाउं। तदो अज्जुए! केण वि कुळवुत्तेण उइदाणि आभरणट्ठाणाणि विळोइअ(कुट्टेणाणिअ वि उणिअ[3]?) अळद्धं पेक्खिअ[3] दव्वं उवाळभिअ दिग्घं णिस्ससिअ एत्तओ मे विभवो त्ति करिअ परिजणहत्थे अअं पावरओ पेसिदो ।

गणिका — (ङ) कोणुखु अय्यचारुदत्तस्स गुणाणं अणुकरेदि ।

(क) हं, ततस्ततः ।

(ख) ततो मया हस्तिहस्तामर्दताड्यमानो दन्तान्तरपरिवर्तमानो हस्तिहस्तपतितचरणः ततो हा हा विपाटितो हा हा हत इति जनवादे संवृत्ते ततो दत्तकरप्रहारेण परिवर्तितं हस्तिनं कृत्वा मोचितः स परिव्राट् ।

(ग) प्रियं मे । ततस्ततः ।

(घ) ततः सर्वो जनो भणति — अहो चेटस्य कर्मेति । न पुनः कश्चित् किमपीच्छति दातुम् । ततोऽज्जुके! केनापि कुलपुत्रेणोचितान्याभरणस्थानानि विलोक्य (कुट्टेणाणिअविउणिअ?) अलब्धं प्रेक्ष्य दैवमुपालभ्य दीर्घं निःश्वस्यैतावान् मे विभव इति कृत्वा परिजनहस्तेऽयं प्रावारकः प्रेषितः ।

(ङ) कोनुखल्वार्यचारुदत्तस्य गुणाननुकरोति ।

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१. 'द', २. 'अ ळ', ३. 'अ दि' ख. पाठः.

Of later wanderers, however, there are not a few, though for the most part their references to Malaya and Indo-China are merely incidental, and it is curious to note the impunity with which, during the Middle Ages, solitary white men were able to travel unmolested through Asiatic lands. This forces upon us a recognition of the fact that the European invasion of Asia, which began with the rounding of the Cape by Vasco da Gama in 1497, has had a very injurious effect upon the character of the Oriental peoples. Prior to the coming of the white men an extraordinary measure of tolerance, even of hospitality, was extended to strangers without distinction of race or creed. All the early travellers combine in bearing testimony to the care which was taken of aliens by, for example, the authorities in China, the people who before all others are to-day a byword for their suspicious dislike of foreigners. The reason of this change of attitude is to be sought for, not in the naughtiness of the Oriental, nor in his moral degeneracy, but in the misconduct of the early European filibusters which put the East forever on the defensive, and caused the name of the white man to stink in the nostrils of the brown peoples.

The only medieval wanderers with whose passage through southeastern Asia we need concern ourselves are Blessed Odoric of Pordone in Friuli, a friar of the Order of St. Francis, Abu Abd Allah Muhammad Ibn Abd Allah El Lawâti, commonly called Ibn Batuta, "the traveller without peer of the whole Arab nation," as he is affectionately called by a holy man of

चेटी—(क) अज्जुए! मम वि कोदूहळं अत्थि । कोणु-खु एसो ।

गणिका—(ख) केण वि साहुणा पुरुसेण होदव्वं ।

चेटी—(ग) साहु पुच्छीअदु[1] दाव ।

गणिका—(घ) हञ्जे! एकपुरुसपक्खवादिदा सव्वगुणाणं हन्ति ।

चेटी—(ङ) भद्द! से णाम तुवं जाणासि ।

चेटः—(च) ण हु जाणामि[2] ।

गणिका—(छ) अदिळहु तुए किदं[3] ।

चेटी—(ज) जइ एवं, इह तुए (कोत्ति? किं ति) मन्तिदं ।

(क) अज्जुके! ममापि कौतूहलमस्ति । कोनुखल्वेषः ।

(ख) केनापि साधुना पुरुषेण भवितव्यम् ।

(ग) साधु पृच्छ्यतां तावत् ।

(घ) हञ्जे! एकपुरुषपक्षपातिता सर्वगुणान् हन्ति ।

(ङ) भद्र! अस्य नाम त्वं जानासि ।

(च) न खलु जानामि ।

(छ) अतिलघु त्वया कृतम् ।

(ज) यद्येवम्, इह त्वया किमिति मन्त्रितम् ।

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१. 'दु । गणिका—से', २. 'मि । चे' क. पाठः. ३. 'दं । चेटः' ख. पाठः.

his own faith, and Friar John de' Marignolli, who in 1338 was sent by the Pope on a mission to the Great Kaan.

Odoric is supposed to have been born in 1286, to have begun his Oriental travels about 1318, to have returned to Europe in 1330 or thereabouts, and to have dictated his reminiscences to a brother Franciscan at Padua ere he crept home to the House of his Order at Udine, where he died in January, 1331. He made his way to Constantinople, thence overland to the Persian Gulf, eventually reaching the coast of Malabar, where he visited the shrine of St. Thomas the Apostle at Mailapur, the modern Madras.

"Departing from this region towards the south across the ocean sea," he tells us, "I came in fifty days to a certain country called Lamori (the State in Sumatra called Al Ramni by the Arabs and Lambri by Polo) in which I began to lose sight of the north star, as the earth intercepted it. And in that country the heat is so excessive that all folk there, both men and women, go naked, not clothing themselves in any wise."

The natives of this State are described as "an evil and pestilent generation" who had no formal marriage, all women being in common. This is an allegation often made against savage and semi-savage communities since Cæsar wrote of Britain, and on closer examination it is usually found to be based upon a misunderstanding of native customs.

Odoric's narrative is interesting because he is the first writer to make mention of a "kingdom by name

चेटः—(क) अहं एत्तअं तु जाणामि—भद्दओ अवि-म्हओ त्ति ।

गणिका—(ख) एहि दाव तं पेक्खामो।

चेटः—(ग) पेक्खदु पेक्खदु अज्जुआ। एसो गच्छइ।

गणिका—(प्रासादाद् विलोक्य) (घ) हञ्जे! एसो हि सो अय्यचारुदत्तो एव्व जण्णोववीदमत्तपावरओ गच्छइ। ता जाव दूरं गओ ण भविस्सदि एसो, पेक्खह्म दाव णं ।

(निष्क्रान्ताः सर्वे ।)

द्वितीयोऽङ्कः ।

(क) अहमेतावत् तु जानामि—भद्रकोऽविस्मय इति ।

(ख) एहि तावत् तं पश्यामः ।

(ग) पश्यतु पश्यत्वज्जुका । एष गच्छति ।

(घ) हञ्जे! एष हि स आर्यचारुदत्त एव यज्ञोपवीतमात्रप्रावारको गच्छति । तद् यावद् दूरं गतो न भविष्यत्येष, पश्यामस्तावदेनम् ।

Sumoltra," doubtless the same as Polo's Samara, which he places to the south of Lamori, a State which later gave its name to the island upon the coast of which it was situated. It is doubtful whether the fact of the insularity of their native lands was realised at all generally by the inhabitants of Sumatra, of Java or of Borneo, and I greatly question whether the average Malay of these parts, even now, has any true appreciation of these geographical facts.

Odoric also mentions still further to the south "another realm called Resengo," though he tells us naught concerning it. The name, however, would lead us to infer that the country of the Rejang is indicated, the State in which the British East India Company's station of Bengcoolen was subsequently established. Its inhabitants, of whom by the way Polo makes no mention, were among the most civilised of the Sumatrans, possessing not only a peculiar language, but also an original written character.

From Sumatra Odoric passed to Java, which he states was ruled by a king who had seven other monarchs tributary to him. It is, he quaintly says, "the second best of islands that exist," and he was greatly struck by its riches and by the magnificence of the palace in which its sovereign had his dwelling. He adds that the Great Kaan "many times engaged in war with this king; but this king always vanquished and got the better of him," a statement which is historically true, Kublai Kaan having launched two unsuccessful expeditions against Java during the time which had elapsed between Marco Polo's

अथ तृतीयोऽङ्कः ।

(ततः प्रविशति नायको विदूषकश्च ।)

नायकः— वयस्य ! वीणा[1] नामासमुद्रोत्थितं रत्नम् । कुतः,

> उत्कण्ठितस्य हृदयानुगता सखीव
> सङ्कीर्णदोषरहिता[2] विषयेषु गोष्ठी ।
> क्रीडारसेषु मदनव्यसनेषु कान्ता
> स्त्रीणां तु कान्तरतिविघ्नकरी सपत्नी ॥ १ ॥

विदूषकः—(क) भो वअस्स! को काळो किदपरिघो[3]सण-दाए णिस्सम्पादा राअमग्गा । कुक्कुरा वि ओसुत्ता । वअं णिद्दं[4] ण ळभामो । अण्णं च दाणि अच्छरीअं । इमं[5] हदवीणं ण रमामि । अहिअदिड[6]त्थाणे विच्छिण्णतन्तिआ होदु ।

नायकः— वयस्य! भावशाबलेन बहुशः खल्वद्य मधुरं गीतम् । न च भवान् रमते ।

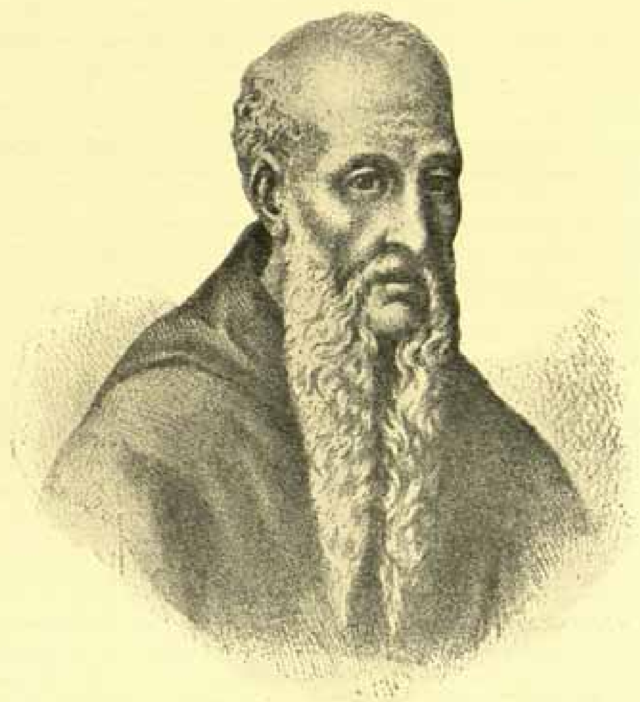
विदूषकः—(ख) अदो एव्व एदं[7] अहं ण रमामि । महुरं पि बहु खादिअं अजिण्णं होइ ।

(क) भो वयस्य! कः कालः कृतपरिघोषणतया निःसम्पाता राजमार्गाः । कुकुरा अप्यवसुप्ताः । वयं निद्रां न लभामहे । अन्यच्चेदानीमाश्चर्यम् । इमां हत-वीणां न रमे । अधिकदृढस्थाने विच्छिन्नतन्त्रीका भवतु ।

(ख) अत एवैतामहं न रमे । मधुरमपि बहु खादितमजीर्णं भवति ।

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१. 'णा खलु ना', २. 'ता सुरतेषु' ख. पाठः. ३. 'ए', ४. 'इं ळ', ५. 'इं' क. पाठः. ६. 'दड्ढाणे' ख. पाठः. ७. 'दं ण' क. पाठः.



ODORIC, FROM THE CITTADINO ITALIANO.
(From *Les Voyages en Asie au XIV. Siècle.*)

[Face page 36.

नायकः—सर्वथा सुव्यक्तं गीतम् । कुतः,

रक्तं च तारमधुरं च समं स्फुटं च
　भावार्पितं च न च साभिनयप्रयोगम् ।
किं वा प्रशस्य विविधैर्बहु तत्तदुक्त्वा*
　भित्त्यन्तरं यदि भवेद् युवतीति विद्याम् ॥ २ ॥

विदूषकः—(क) कामं पसंसेदु भवं । मम खु दाव गाअन्तो मणुस्सो इत्थिआ वि पठन्ती उभअं आदरं ण देदि । गाअन्तो दाव मणुस्सो रत्तसुमणावेढ्ढिदो[2] विअ पुरोहिदो दिढं ण सोहइ । इत्थिआ वि पठन्ती छिण्णणासिआ विअ घेणुआ अदिविरूवा[3] होइ ।

नायकः—सखे ! उपारूढोऽर्धरात्रः । स्थिरतिमिरा राजमार्गाः । निस्सम्पातपुरुषत्वात् प्रसुप्तेवोज्जयनी प्रतिभाति । कुतः,

असौ हि दत्त्वा तिमिरावकाश-
　मस्तं गतो ह्यष्टमपक्षचन्द्रः ।
तोयावगाढस्य वनद्विपस्य
　विषाणकोटीव निमज्जमाना ॥ ३ ॥

(क) कामं प्रशंसतु भवान् । मम खलु तावद् गायन् मनुष्यः स्त्र्यपि पठन्त्युभयमादरं न ददाति । गायंस्तावन्मनुष्यो रक्तसुमनोवेष्टित इव पुरोहितो दृढं न शोभते । स्त्र्यपि पठन्ती छिन्ननासिकेव धेनुरतिविरूपा भवति ।

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१. 'था व्य' क. पाठः. २. 'ढ्ढि', ३. 'दिअवि', ४. 'द', ५ 'मजलाढ' ख. पाठः.

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* 'तत्तदुक्तः' इति स्यात् ।

विदूषकः—(क) सुट्ठु भवं भणादि । अन्तढिअमाणचन्दळद्धावआसो ओदरदी विअ पासादादो अन्धआरो ।

नायकः—(परिक्रम्य) इदमस्मदीयं गृहम् । वर्धमानवक ! वर्धमानवक ! ।

विदूषकः—(ख) वद्धमाणवअ ! वद्धमाणवअ ! दुवारं अवावुद ।

(प्रविश्य)

चेटः—(ग) अम्मो अय्यमेत्तेओ ।

नायकः—वर्धमानवक! ।

चेटः—(घ) अम्मो भट्टिदारओ । भट्टिदारअ ! वन्दामि ।

नायकः—पादोदकमानय ।

चेटः—(परिक्रम्य) (ङ) इदं पादोदअं।(नायकस्य पादौ प्रक्षालयति।)

विदूषकः—(च) वड्ढमाणवअ ! मम वि पादं पक्खाळेहि ।

(क) सुष्ठु भवान् भणति । अन्तर्धीयमानचन्द्रलब्धावकाशोऽवतरतीव प्रासादादन्धकारः ।

(ख) वर्धमानवक! वर्धमानवक! द्वारमपावृणु ।

(ग) अम्मो आर्यमैत्रेयः ।

(घ) अम्मो भर्तृदारकः । भर्तृदारक! वन्दे ।

(ङ) इदं पादोदकम् ।

(च) वर्धमानवक! ममापि पादं प्रक्षालय ।

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१. 'ड्ढ' क. पाठः.

passage through the Straits of Malacca and Odoric's visit to the island.

Near Java—a somewhat vague term—Odoric places a country called "Panten, but others call it Thalamasyn, the king whereof hath many islands under him." It produced sago, honey, toddy and a deadly vegetable poison, which was used to smear the blow-pipe darts of the natives who were "nearly all rovers," or pirates. All this points with some certainty to Borneo, and Banjarmasin, which was a flourishing kingdom as early as the eleventh century, may have been Odoric's Thalamasyn, or Panten may have stood for Kalamantan, a name by which a portion of Borneo was known in ancient times.

"By the coast of this country towards the south," Odoric continues, "is the sea called the Dead Sea, the water whereof runneth ever towards the south, and if any falleth into that water he is never found more."

At a later period de Barros relates a superstition of the natives to the effect that the currents beyond the Straits of Bâli acted in a similar manner, and it is possible that in this legend is to be found the germ of the tale concerning the current which wrecked Sindbad, and cast him up, more fortunate than his fellows, upon the bone-strewn island whence he escaped by means of the subterranean passage. To Odoric we also owe one of the earliest descriptions of the bamboo "canes or reeds like great trees," and of the rattan, while he further speaks of stones found in these "canes" which were regarded as charms that conferred the advantage of invul-

चेटः---(क) सुहौदेसु पादेसु भूमीए पळोट्ठिदव्वं । उदअं विणासेहि । अहव आणेहि । पक्खाळइस्सं । (नाट्येन विदूषकस्य पादौ प्रक्षालयति ।)

विदूषकः---(ख) ण केवळं दासीएपुत्तेण पादा धोदा, मुहं वि धोदं ।

नायकः---वयस्य !

इयं हि निद्रा नयनावलम्बिनी
ललाटदेशादुपसर्पतीव माम् ।
अदृश्यमाना चपला जरेव या
मनुष्यवीर्यं परिभूय वर्धते ॥ ४ ॥

मैत्रेय ! सुप्यताम् ।

(निष्क्रान्तश्चेटः ।)

(प्रविश्याभरणसमुद्गहस्ता)

चेटी---(ग) अय्यमेत्तेअ! उट्ठेहि उट्ठेहि ।

(क) सुधौतयोः पादयोर्भूम्यां प्रलोठितव्यम् । उदकं विनाशय । अथवानय । प्रक्षालयिष्यामि ।

(ख) न केवलं दास्याःपुत्रेण पादौ धौतौ, मुखमपि धौतम् ।

(ग) आर्यमैत्रेय! उत्तिष्ठोत्तिष्ठ ।

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१. 'नान्तल' ख, पाठः.

nerability upon their wearers. It is curious to note that these siliceous deposits are still treasured by the Malays for similar reasons in the present day.

Champa, or Zampa as he spells it, is the last country in this part of the world of which Odoric leaves us any record, and here he echoes Polo's astonishment at the number of the king's offspring which he places at "a good two hundred."

It will be seen from the above summary that the Blessed Odoric does not add materially to the sum of our knowledge concerning the lands through which he wandered, and his narrative is chiefly noteworthy because it demonstrates that at the beginning of the fourteenth century it was possible for a solitary Italian friar to roam up and down the east without let or hindrance, mainly, it must be supposed, at the charges of those whom he encountered on his journey. The achievement is all the more remarkable because, unlike Ibn Batuta, his religion gave him no claim upon the piety of the ubiquitous Muhammadan communities.

The Arab traveller, who was born in Tangier on February 24th, 1304, set out upon his wanderings in his twenty-first year. He did not return until 1347. In all he covered more than 75,000 English miles, a respectable record even in these days of easy and swift journeying; wandering over a large part of Asia before he finally made his way back to Fez, in which place his book was dictated by the order of the Sultan. It is a marvellous record, and the manner in which it is told is inimitably naive and amusing, but to us its chief interest lies in the fact that it illustrates in a

विदूषकः—(क) भोदि! किं एदं।

चेटी—(ख) इअं सुवण्णभण्डं सट्ठीए सत्तमीए (परिवेट्ठामि?) अट्ठमी खु अज्ज।

नायकः—इदं तद् वसन्तसेनायाः स्वकम्।

चेटी—(ग) आम। भणादु भणादु भट्टिदारओ गह्णदु त्ति।

नायकः—मैत्रेय! गृह्यताम्।

विदूषकः—(घ) किंणिमित्तं अअं अळङ्कारो अब्भन्तरचउस्साळं ण प्पवेसीअदि।

नायकः—मूर्ख! बाह्यजनधारितमलङ्कारं गृहजनो न द्रक्ष्यति।

विदूषकः—(ङ) का गई। आणेहि[1] गह्णामि चोरेहिं गह्णिअमाणं।

(चेटी दत्त्वा निष्क्रान्ता।)

विदूषकः—(च) भो! किंणिमित्तं सो पावरओ तस्स गणिआपरिआरे[2]अस्स दिण्णो।

(क) भवति! किमेतत्।
(ख) इदं सुवर्णभाण्डं षष्ठ्यां सप्तम्यां (परिवेष्ट्यामि?) अष्टमी खल्वद्य।
(ग) आम। भणतु भणतु भर्तृदारकः गृह्यतामिति।
(घ) किंनिमित्तमयमलङ्कारोऽभ्यन्तरचतुःशालं न प्रवेश्यते।
(ङ) का गतिः। आनय गृह्णामि चोरैर्गृह्यमाणम्।
(च) भोः! किंनिमित्तं स प्रावारकस्तस्मै गणिकापरिचारकाय दत्तः।

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१. 'हुं चो.' क. पाठः. २. 'रस्स' ख. पाठः.

striking manner the opportunities for travelling which in the early fourteenth century were open to any adventurous Muslim. Ibn Batuta, professional holy man, regarded his coreligionists as created for his comfort and convenience. Wherever he went he preyed upon them shamelessly, and deemed them sufficiently honoured by being suffered to minister to his needs, travelling in this fashion to the very ends of the then known earth. He managed things on a scale of unexampled magnificence, and it is our good fortune that he lived to tell his tale for our delight, but it is probable that he was only a preeminent member of a class, and that at this period there were numerous Muhammadans, with a curious taste in wives and a rapacious appetite for "rich presents," who wandered up and down the world and drew much profit from the ubiquity of the great religious fraternity established throughout the East by the Persian and Arabian merchants.

Ibn Batuta traversed the well-worn route to China, and has little enough to tell us concerning the lands of south-eastern Asia. He was duly impressed with the number of the king of Champa's children, and noted the multitude of tame elephants used in that country. He touched at some point in the Malay Peninsula, which he calls Mul-Java, or the mainland of Java, and he spent a season awaiting the change of the monsoon on the island of Sumatra. Here he was present at the marriage of the daughter of his host—the "king of Sumatra," as he calls him, though this potentate only ruled over a small portion of the island—and the account which he gives of the ceremony might have been written by an

नायकः—सानुक्रोशतया ।

विदूषकः—(क) इह वि साणुक्कोसदा ।

नायकः—वयस्य! मा मैवम् ।

विदूषकः—(ख) अहं भरिदगद्दभो विअ भूमीए पळोट्ठामि।

नायकः—निद्रा मां बाधते । तूष्णीं भव ।

विदूषकः—(ग) सअदु भवं सुहप्पबोहाअ । जाव अहं वि सुविस्सं ।

(द्वावपि स्वपितः ।)

(ततः प्रविशति सज्जलकः ।)

सज्जलकः—एष भोः!

कृत्वा शरीरपरिणाहसुखप्रवेशं
शिक्षाबलेन च बलेन च कर्ममार्गम् ।
गच्छामि भूमिपरिसर्पणघृष्टपार्श्वो
निर्मुच्यमान इव जीर्णतनुर्भुजङ्गः ॥ ५ ॥

भोः! वृक्षवाटिकापक्षद्वारे सन्धि छित्वा प्रविष्टोऽस्मि । यावदिदानीं चतुःशालमुपसर्पामि । (सनिर्वेदं विचिन्त्य) भोः!

(क) इहापि सानुक्रोशता ।
(ख) अहं भरितगर्दभ इव भूम्यां प्रलुठामि ।
(ग) शेतां भवान् सुखप्रबोधाय । यावदहमपि स्वप्स्यामि ।

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१. 'इ' क. पाठः.

observer of a modern Malay wedding, a striking proof, were proof needed, of the extraordinary conservatism of this people. For the rest he has nothing new to tell us concerning these regions, though he shows us incidentally that ships still adhered as of old to the few well-known ports of call and rarely strayed far beyond the beaten track which had been in use for centuries.

Friar John de' Marignolli, a Franciscan like Odoric, was born in Florence between 1280 and 1290. In December, 1338, he was sent from Avignon on a mission to the Great Kaan, and travelled overland to China, returning to India *via* Zayton and the Malay Archipelago in 1346 or 1347. Beyond the bare fact that he left Zayton and eventually arrived at Columbum (Quilon) he tells us absolutely nothing, but after some travels in India he paid a visit to an island which he names Saba, and clearly imagines it to be the same as the Saba of the Scriptures. The island, we learn, was so far to the south that the polar star was no longer visible; it was ruled by women; its queen possessed a fine palace, the walls of which were decked with historical pictures; there was a huge mountain on the island, and there were beasts in its forests nearly resembling human beings; elephants were in use, especially among the women; a few Christians lived there, and when he quitted its shores he was storm driven into a port of Ceylon. These are all the data which we have concerning Friar John's Saba, and it has been identified with Java by Meinert, and with the Maldives by Professor Kunstmann. Colonel Yule has shown that this latter theory is untenable, and declines

कामं नीचमिदं वदन्तु विबुधाः सुप्तेषु यद्वर्तते
विश्वस्तेषु हि वञ्चनापरिभवः शौर्यं न कार्कश्यता* ।
स्वाधीना वचनीयतापि तु वरं बद्धो न सेवाञ्जलि-
र्मार्गश्चैष नरेन्द्रसौप्तिकवधे पूर्वं कृतो द्रौणिना ॥ ६ ॥

(विचिन्त्य)

लुब्धोऽर्थवान् साधुजनावमानी
वणिक् स्ववृत्तावतिकर्कशश्च ।
यस्तस्य गेहं यदि नाम लप्स्ये
भवामि दुःखोपहतो न चित्ते ॥ ७ ॥

यद्वा तद्वा भवतु । किं वा न कारयति मन्मथः । यावदारभे कर्म । भोः!

देशः को नु जलावसेकशिथिलश्छेदादशब्दो भवेद्
भित्तीनां क्व नु दर्शितान्तरसुखः सन्धिः करालो भवेत् ।
क्षारक्षीणतया चलेष्टककृशं हर्म्यं क्व जीर्णं भवेत्
कुत्र स्त्रीजनदर्शनं च न भवेत् स्वन्तश्च यत्नो भवेत् ॥ ८ ॥

(परिक्रम्य) इयं वास्तुविभागक्रिया । सोपस्नेहतया गृहविशिष्ट इवायं भवनविन्यासः । इह तावत् प्रवेशावकाशं करिष्ये । भोः! कीदृश इदानीं सन्धिच्छेदः कर्तव्यः स्यात् ।

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१. 'न्त्य अपि च तु' क. पाठः.

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* कार्कश्यता कर्कशत्वम् । आलस्यशब्दवत् कार्कश्यशब्दो धर्मिपरो द्रष्टव्यः ।

to accept Java as the true identification because it is impossible to show that female government ever prevailed upon that island. He has, however, no alternative suggestion to make, and ends by giving the puzzle up as hopeless. To me, however, it seems that the best case can be made out for north Borneo, the native name of which is Sabah. The name alone would be of no sort of importance; but its position satisfies the friar's astronomical requirements; it is dominated by the magnificent mountain of Kinabalu, round which still cluster many of the superstitions of the natives, superstitions which the pious monk might very easily identify, as in truth he does, with traditions of Elias and the Magi; the jungles in which the *mâyas*, or ourang-outang, abound may well be said to contain "monsters" with faces like men; while tame elephants were plentiful in Brûnei when Magellan's ships visited the place in the sixteenth century, and the forests of northern Borneo are the only part of the island in which these animals now run wild. More important than all, however, is the fact that among the Dûsun tribes, which compose the larger proportion of the natives of northern Borneo, women occupy a peculiar position and influence. This is mainly due to a belief that the world —which the Dûsuns rightly regard as a very imperfect piece of work—was created by the goddess Sinemundu during the temporary absence of her husband, Kinhoringan, who had designed a flawless universe, and a woman having thus brought the earth into being, it is felt to be right that women should manage the spiritual affairs of the creatrix's world. Priesthood, therefore, and

सिंहाक्रान्तं पूर्णचन्द्रं झषास्यं
चन्द्रार्धं वा व्याघ्रवक्त्रं त्रिकोणम् ।
सन्धिच्छेदः पीठिका वा गजास्य-
मस्मत्पक्ष्या विस्मितास्ते कथं स्युः ॥ ९ ॥

भवतु सिंहाक्रान्तमेवच्छेदयिष्ये ।

विदूषकः—(क) भोः ! जागत्ति खु भवं, णहि ।

नायकः—किमर्थम् ।

विदूषकः—(ख) अहं खु दाव कत्तव्वकरि[1]त्तीकिदसङ्केदो विअ सक्किअसमणओ णिद्दं ण लभामि । वामं खु मे अक्खि फन्देदि । चोरो सन्धि छिन्ददी वि[2]अ पेक्खामि । जइ ईदिसी अवत्था अत्थाणं, जादीए दरिद्दो एव्व होमि ।

नायकः—मूर्ख[3] ! धिक् त्वाम् । दारिद्र्यमभिलषसि ।

सज्जलकः—अथ केनेदानीं सन्धिच्छेदमार्गः सूचयितव्यः स्यात् । नन्विदं दिवा ब्रह्मसूत्रं रात्रौ कर्मसूत्रं भवि[4]ष्यति ।

(क) भोः! जागर्ति खलु भवान्, नहि ।

(ख) अहं खलु तावत् कर्तव्यकरित्तीकृतसङ्केत इव शाक्यश्रमणको निद्रां न लभे । वामं खलु मेऽक्षि स्पन्दते । चोरः सन्धि छिनत्तीव पश्यामि । यदीदृश्यवस्थार्थानां, जात्या दरिद्र एव भवामि ।

१. 'रीकि', २. 'अ हि पे' क. पाठः. ३. 'त्र', ४. 'वति' ख. पाठः.

not infrequently, the chieftainship of a tribe, are vested among these people in the women, and this may well be a relic of female sovereignty such as is described by Friar John. The palace, if such a building ever existed in northern Borneo, has utterly disappeared, together with its paintings, but there is evidence to show that this part of the island has sensibly degenerated in its arts and in the standard of its civilisation, while its population has dwindled and become debased, ever since its rediscovery by the Spaniards less than four hundred years ago. Nor need we experience much surprise that all tradition concerning the existence of a kingdom of such magnitude and importance as that described by Friar John should have vanished so speedily from the memories of the Borneans, for historical facts of a far more recent date, which are preserved for us in the writings of the European travellers of the sixteenth century, have also passed into oblivion, leaving among the natives of the island not so much as a whisper of story. In the semi-uncivilised lands of Asia dynasties have risen, have flourished, have come to proud maturity, have dwindled, pined and disappeared with a wonderful rapidity, and when the waves of time have closed over them they are forgotten with a completeness which finds few parallels in Europe. It is possible that the dense forests of northern Borneo may even yet yield up to us some traces of the wonderful palace which filled the Franciscan monk with awe and admiration. The difficulty of the return voyage which saw the monk's ship storm driven into a port of Ceylon need not greatly trouble us. A traveller, who fared from

अद्यास्य भित्तिषु मया निशि पाटितासु-
च्छेदात् समासु सकृदर्पितकाकलीषु ।
काल्यं विषादविमुखः प्रतिवेशिवर्गो
दोषांश्च मे वदतु कर्मसु कौशलं च ॥ १० ॥

नमः खरपटाय । नमो रात्रिगोचरेभ्यो देवेभ्यः । (तथा करोति ।) हन्त अवसितं कर्म । प्रविशामस्तावत् । (प्रविश्य) अये ! ज्वलति दीपः । अपसरामि तावत् । धिक् , सज्जलकः खल्वहम् ।

मार्जारः प्लवने वृकोऽपसरणे श्येनो गृहालोकने
निद्रा सुप्तमनुष्यवीर्यतुलने संसर्पणे पन्नगः ।
माया वर्णशरीरभेदकरणे वाग् देशभाषान्तरे
दीपो रात्रिषु सङ्कटे च तिमिरं वायुः स्थले नौर्जले ॥ ११ ॥

(सर्वतो विलोक्य) आगन्तुकत्वादविदितसमृद्धिविस्तरः केवलं भवनप्रत्ययादिह प्रविष्टोऽस्मि । न चेदानीं किञ्चित् परिच्छदविशेषं पश्यामि । किन्नुखलु दरिद्र एवायम् । उताहो अयं संयमननिरर्थकं भूष्यं धारयति । अथवा, अभिजातोऽयं भवनविन्यासः । उपभुक्तप्रनष्टविभवेनानेन भवितव्यम् ।

तथाविभवमन्दोऽपि जन्मभूमिव्यपेक्षया ।
गृहं विक्रयकालेऽपि *नीलस्नेहेन रक्षति ॥ १२ ॥

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१. 'श्म', २. 'पु', ३. 'नीं गृहस्यानुरूपं क', ४. 'हो सं', ५. 'द्रष्टव्यं धा' ख. पाठः.

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* नील्या रञ्जकद्रव्येण रक्तो नीलः । स इव स्नेहो नीलस्नेहः । दृढस्नेह इत्यर्थः । नीलीरागो यावदाश्रयो नापैति । तद्वदनपायः स्नेहो नीलस्नेह उच्यते । 'नीलीरागः स्थिरप्रेमा' इति च यादवः ।

C 8

China to Malabar without saying a single word concerning the places at which he touched upon the way, may be supposed capable of passing through the Straits of Malacca, or even through those of Sunda, on his way from Saba to India, without making any particular mention of the fact.

With Friar John and his mysterious island we take leave of the portion of our enquiry in which from the outset we have found ourselves groping through a fog of doubt and of conjecture. We have noted the frequency with which the sea-route to China was used by men of numerous races from very early times, and the comparatively exact information concerning the Far East which from time to time was brought home by wanderers returning to the West. It is, therefore, a matter of considerable surprise to find that when these regions were rediscovered by the Portuguese and Spaniards in the sixteenth century they were regarded by the whole of Europe as worlds undreamed of. The scant knowledge possessed by the ancients of India *extra Gangem* and of the *Chersonesus Aurea* had been practically forgotten; the more accurate and detailed information supplied by Marco Polo and his successors had been dismissed as incredible, or had been scorned as the purest inventions born of unruly or disordered imaginations; the immense force of Islâm had reared a wall between Europe and Asia which for a long period the former was powerless to scale. Even the Book of Messer Marco himself had come to be regarded as a piece of mere fiction, and accordingly by the time the first Portuguese vessels made

भवतु पश्यामस्तावत् । अथवा, न खलु मे तुल्यावस्थः कुल-पुत्रः पीडयितव्यः । गच्छामि तावत् ।

विदूषकः—(क) भो ! गह्ण एदं सुवण्णभण्डअं ।

सज्जलकः—कथं सुवर्णभाण्डमित्याह । किं मां दृष्ट्वाभिभाषते । आहोस्वित् सत्त्वलाघवात् स्वप्नायते । भवतु पश्यामस्तावत् । (दृष्ट्वा) भूतार्थं सुप्त एवायम् । तथाहि,

निःश्वासोऽस्य न शङ्कितो न विषमस्तुल्यान्तरं जायते
गात्रं सन्धिषु दीर्घतामुपगतं शय्याप्रमाणाधिकम् ।
दृष्टिर्गाढनिमीलिता न चपलं पक्ष्मान्तरं जायते
दीपं चैव न मर्षयेदभिमुखैः स्याल्लक्षसुप्तो यदि ॥ १३ ॥

क्व नु खलु तत् । अये जर्जरप्रावरणैकदेशे दीपप्रभाव्यक्तीकृतरूपं दृश्यते । सुपरिगृहीतमनेन । अयमत्र प्राप्तकालः । इमे मया गृहीताः शलभाः । दीपनिर्वापणार्थमेकं मुञ्चामि । (भ्रमरकरण्डकादेकं मुञ्चति ।) अये एष दीपं निर्वाप्य पतति ।

विदूषकः—(ख) अविहा णिव्वाविदो दीवो दाणिं । मुसिदो ह्मि । भो चारुदत्त ! गह्ण एदं सुवण्णालङ्कारं । अहं खु भीदीए

(क) भोः! गृहाणैतत् सुवर्णभाण्डकम् ।

(ख) अविहा निर्वापितो दीप इदानीम् । मुषितोऽस्मि । भोश्चारुदत्त! गृहाणेमं

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१. 'मि ताव', २. 'क्षा', ३. 'सं' ख. पाठः. ४. 'तावत्', ५. 'भावव्य', ६. 'दं मु' क. पाठः.

their way round the Cape of Good Hope, seeking a new highroad to India, the minds of even the learned of Europe presented something like a *tabula rasa* upon which was inscribed none of the facts concerning south-eastern Asia that had been collected by the geographers and mariners of antiquity, which had been added to by many Arabian writers, and which had received detailed confirmation from the European wanderers of the Middle Ages. It is in the coming of the Portuguese, therefore, that the exploration of Malaya and of Indo-China by the peoples of the west may properly be said to have had its beginning.

उप्पहप्पवुत्तो विअ वाणिजो णिद्दं ण लभामि। मम बह्मत्त-णेण साविदो सि, जइ ण गह्णसि।

सज्जलकः—किमत्र शपथपरिग्रहेण। एष प्रतिगृह्णामि। (गृह्णाति।)

विदूषकः—(दत्त्वा) (क) अहं विक्किणिदभण्डओ[1] विअ व-णिजओ[2] सुहं सइस्सं।

सज्जलकः—सुखं स्वपिहि महाब्राह्मण!। (विचिन्त्य) भोः! ब्राह्मणेन विश्वासाद् दीयमानं मया हर्तव्यमासीत्।

धिगस्तु खलु दारिद्र्यमनिर्वेदं च यौवनम्।
यदिदं दारुणं कर्म निन्दामि च करोमि च॥ १४॥

(नेपथ्ये पटहशब्दः क्रियते।)

सज्जलकः—(कर्णं दत्त्वा) अये प्रभातसमयः संवृत्तः। अ-पसरामि तावत्।

(निष्क्रान्तः सज्जलकः।)

(प्रविश्य)

चेटी—(साक्रन्दम्) (ख) अय्यमेत्तेअ! अह्माणं रुक्खवाडि-आपक्खदुवाळे[4] सन्धिं छिन्दिअ चोरो पविट्ठो।

सुवर्णालङ्कारम्। अहं खलु भीत्योत्पथप्रवृत्त इव वणिग् निद्रां न लभे। मम ब्रह्मत्वेन शापितोऽसि, यदि न गृह्णासि।

(क) अहं विक्रीतभाण्डक इव वणिक् सुखं शयिष्ये।

(ख) आर्यमैत्रेय! अस्माकं वृक्षवाटिकापक्षद्वारे सन्धिं छित्त्वा चोरः प्रविष्टः।

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१. 'कि', २. 'णिओ'. ३. 'स', ४. 'रे' क. पाठः.

CHAPTER III

THE COMING OF THE FILIBUSTERS

IT was in November, 1497, that Vasco da Gama, after those two desperate beatings to seaward and tacks to the south which have made him famous, during which he faced and overcame, not only the fury of the elements, but the fears and the mutinous murmurings of his comrades, came at last to land on the eastern shores of southern Africa. The story of the last great tack is told to us by Gaspar Correa in a fashion which leaves a wonderful picture upon our memories, and his words may fittingly be quoted here.

"As he (da Gama) was a very choleric man, at times with angry words he made them silent, although he well saw how much reason they had at every moment to despair of their lives: and they had been going for about two months on that tack, and the masters and pilots cried out to him to take another tack; but the captain major did not choose, though the ships were now letting in much water, by which their labours were doubled, because the days were short and the nights long, which caused them increased fear of death; and at this time they met with such cold rains that the men could not move. All cried out to God for mercy upon their souls, for now they no longer took heed of their lives. It now seemed to Vasco da Gama that the time was come for

विदूषकः—(सहसोत्थाय) (क) किं भणादि होदी ।

(चेटी रुक्खवाडिअत्ति पठति ।)

विदूषकः—(ख) चोरं छिन्दिअ सन्धी पविट्ठो ।

चेटी—(ग) हदास ! सन्धि छिन्दिअ चोरो पविट्ठो ।

विदूषकः—(घ) आअच्छ णं दंसेहि ।

चेटी—(परिक्रम्य) (ङ) एदं ।

विदूषकः—(च) अविहा दासीएवुत्तेण कुक्कुरेण पवेसो किदो । भोदि! आअच्छ, चारुदत्तस्स पिअं णिवेदेमि ।

(उभावुपगम्य)

भो चारुदत्त! पिअं दे णिवेदेमि ।

नायकः—(बुद्ध्वा) किं मे प्रियम् । ननु वसन्तसेना प्राप्ता ।

विदूषकः—(छ) ण खु वसन्तसेणा, वसन्तसेणो पत्तो ।

नायकः—रदनिके! किमेतत् ।

(क) किं भणति भवती ।

(ख) चोरं छित्त्वा सन्धिः प्रविष्टः ।

(ग) हताश! सन्धिं छित्त्वा चोरः प्रविष्टः ।

(घ) आगच्छ ननु दर्शय ।

(ङ) एतत् ।

(च) अविहा दास्याःपुत्रेण कुक्कुरेण प्रवेशः कृतः । भवति ! आगच्छ चारुदत्तस्य प्रियं निवेदयामि । भोश्चारुदत्त! प्रियं ते निवेदयामि ।

(छ) न खलु वसन्तसेना, वसन्तसेनः प्राप्तः ।

making another tack, and he comported himself very angrily, swearing that if they did not double the Cape, he would stand out to sea again as many times until the Cape was doubled, or there should happen whatever should please God. For which reason, from fear of this, the masters took much more trouble to advance as far as they could; and they took more heart on nearing the land, and escaping from the tempest of the sea: and all called upon God for mercy, and to give them guidance, when they saw themselves out of such great dangers. Thus approaching the land, they found their labour less, and the seas calmer, so they went on running for a long time, steering so as to make the land and ease the ships, which they were better able to do at night when the captain slept, which the other ships did also, as they followed the lantern which Vasco da Gama carried: at night the ships showed lights to one another so as not to part company. Seeing how much they had run, and did not find the land, they sailed larger so as to make it; and as they did not find it, and the sea and wind were moderate, they knew that they had doubled the Cape; on which great joy fell upon them, and they gave great praise to the Lord on seeing themselves delivered from death. The pilots continued to sail more free, spreading all the sails; and running in this manner, one morning they sighted some mountain peaks which seemed to touch the clouds; at which their pleasure was so great that they all wept with joy, and all devoutly on their knees said the *Salve*."

It is true that Vasco da Gama was not the first of the

चेटी—(क) भट्टिदारअ! अह्माणं रुक्खवाडिआपक्खदुवारे सन्धि छिन्दिअ चोरो पविट्ठो ।

नायकः—किं चोरः प्रविष्टः ।

विदूषकः—(ख) भो वअस्स! सव्वहा तुवं भणासि, मुक्खो मेत्तेओ अपण्डिदो मेत्तेओ त्ति । णं मए सोभणं किदं तं सुवण्णभण्डअं[1] तव हत्थे समप्पअन्तेण ।

नायकः—किं भवता दत्तम् ।

विदूषकः—(ग) अहइं ।

नायकः—कस्यां वेलायाम् ।

विदूषकः—(घ) अद्धरत्ते ।

नायकः—किमर्धरात्रे । बाढं दत्तम् ।

विदूषकः—(ङ) भो चारुदत्त! जं वेळं पडिवुद्धो आसि, तस्सिं वेळाअं खु दिण्णं ।

(क) भर्तृदारक! अस्माकं वृक्षवाटिकापक्षद्वारे सन्धिं छित्त्वा चोरः प्रविष्टः ।

(ख) भो वयस्य! सर्वथा त्वं भणसि, मूर्खो मैत्रेयोऽपण्डितो मैत्रेय इति । ननु मया शोभनं कृतं तत् सुवर्णभाण्डकं तव हस्ते समर्पयता ।

(ग) अथकिम् ।

(घ) अर्धरात्रे ।

(ङ) भोश्चारुदत्त! यस्यां वेलायां प्रतिबुद्ध आसीः, तस्यां वेलायां खलु दत्तम् ।

१. 'अं भवदो स' क. पाठः. २. 'तं वेळं खु' ख. पाठः.

Portuguese mariners to double the Cape of Good Hope, the feat having already been performed by John Infante and Bartholomew Dias, and that da Gama had with him pilots who had sailed with these captains. It is true also that da Gama, unlike Magellan and Columbus, was not the originator of the design which it fell to his lot to carry into effect, and that he owes his fame, less to his own adventuresome spirit and to his individual enterprise and initiative, than to the happy accident of his selection by the King of Portugal for the post of captain-major of the pioneering fleet. All this must be admitted, but nothing can weaken the impression which we receive from Correa's narrative of the dogged strength, the grim resolution, the unshakable courage, moral and physical of the man. The ships held upon that cruel two-months' tack, through angry seas, through cold and tempest, with seams gaping under the long strain, with crews half-famished by the bitter weather, mad afraid, and worn to death with weary toiling at the sails and pumps, and never once did they swerve from the appointed course, because "*the captain-major did not choose!*" When every soul in all that fleet was calling upon God in his extremity, and was beseiging the captain with entreaties to abandon the desperate enterprise, he alone was determined, fearless, and answered their prayers with fierce threats of yet other tacks which he would take if this one failed to accomplish the purpose upon which his will was set. Here in a few words we have the man revealed to us, and if even in this the hour of his greatest achievement we see traces of the ruthlessness, the absence of all

नायकः—हन्त हतं सुवर्णभाण्डकम् ।

विदूषकः—(क) दाणिं मे हत्थे *पडिच्छिदु अत्तभवं ।

नायकः—(आत्मगतम्)

कः श्रद्धास्यति भूतार्थं सर्वो मां तुलयिष्यति ।
शङ्कनीया हि दोषेषु निष्प्रभावा दरिद्रता ॥ १५ ॥

(प्रविश्य)

ब्राह्मणी—(ख) रदणिए! रदणिए! आअच्छ । णहि सुणादि । कवाडसद्दं दाव करिस्सं । (तथा करोति ।)

चेटी—(ग) हं, कवाडसद्दो विअ । भट्टिदारिआ मं सद्दावेदि । (परिक्रम्य) भट्टिदारिए! इअह्मि ।

ब्राह्मणी—(घ) ण परिक्खदो ण वावादिदो अय्यउत्तो अय्यमेत्तेओ वा ।

(क) इदानीं मम हस्ते प्रयच्छत्वत्रभवान् ।

(ख) रदनिके! रदनिके! आगच्छ । नहि शृणोति । कवाटशब्दं तावत् करिष्यामि ।

(ग) हं, कवाटशब्द इव । भर्तृदारिका मां शब्दापयति । भर्तृदारिके! इयमस्मि ।

(घ) न परिक्षतो न व्यापादित आर्यपुत्र आर्यमैत्रेयो वा ।

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१. 'कः—भो चारुदत्त! सव्वदा तुवं भणासि मुक्खो मेत्तेओ अपण्डिओ मेत्तेओ त्ति । णं मए सोभणं किदं जं सुवण्णभण्डअं भवदो समप्पअन्तेण । दाणिं' ख. पाठः ।

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* 'पअच्छदु' इति स्यात् ।

care or sympathy for others, which later led him into the commission of crimes more cruel than those of Cortez or Pizarro, we see also in him the embodiment, as it were, of the strenuous spirit of Portugal at the beginning of the sixteenth century—the spirit which made possible the miracles of conquest which then were wrought in Asia, the spirit which awoke that bitter, impotent hatred of the white men which still lingers in the East in the traditions of a people little apt to forgive or to forget.

After Vasco da Gama had opened up the new highway of trade to the East which, diverting the wealth of Asia from its old markets on the shores of the Adriatic, ruined many an Italian city while it brought a hitherto undreamed of prosperity to the towns of Portugal, it became the custom for a large and well-equipped fleet to sail from Lisbon in the spring of each year. These fleets bore with them reinforcements for the white adventurers in Asia wherewith to carry on the ruthless war which then was raging between the newcomers and the ancient kingdoms of the East. They bore too large numbers of men fired by a desire to win for themselves a share of the plunder concerning which such dazzling accounts had reached Europe—men who, like Alexander, lusted after new worlds to conquer, and regarded the recently discovered lands as mere stepping-stones to wealth. It was in a spirit of frank brigandage that the Portuguese, from the highest to the lowest, swarmed into Asia. They were utterly without any sense of responsibility in so far as the lands and the men who were their appointed vic-

चेटी—(क) कुसली भट्टिदारओ अय्यमेत्तेओ अ। जो तस्स जणस्स अळङ्कारो चोरेण गहीदो।

ब्राह्मणी—(ख) किं भणासि चोरेण गहीदत्ति।

चेटी—(ग) अहइं।

ब्राह्मणी—(घ) किंणुखु तस्स जणस्स दादव्वं भविस्सदि। अहव एदं दइस्सं। (कर्णौ स्पृष्ट्वा) हद्धि ताळीपत्तं खु एदं। सो दाणि परिअओ मं विळम्बेदि। किं दाणि करिस्सं। (विचिन्त्य) भोदु, दिट्ठं। मम ञ्ञादिकुळादो ळद्धा सदसहस्समुळ्ळा मुत्तावळी। तं पि अय्यउत्तो सोंढीरदाए पडिच्छदि। भोदु, एवं दाव करिस्सं। (निष्क्रान्ता।)

विदूषकः—(ङ) इमस्स अन्धआरुप्पादिदस्स अवराहस्स किदे भवन्तं सीसेण पसादेमि। दाणिं मे हत्थे पडिच्छदु अत्तभवं।

(क) कुशली भर्तृदारक आर्यमैत्रेयश्च। यस्तस्य जनस्यालङ्कारश्चोरेण गृहीतः।

(ख) किं भणासि चोरेण गृहीत इति।

(ग) अथकिम्।

(घ) किन्नुखलु तस्मै जनाय दातव्यं भविष्यति। अथवैतद् दास्यामि। हा धिक् तालीपत्रं खल्वेतत्। स इदानीं परिचयो मां विडम्बयति। किमिदानीं करिष्यामि। भवतु, दृष्टम्। मम ज्ञातिकुलाद् लब्धा शतसहस्रमूल्या मुक्तावली। तामप्यार्यपुत्रः शौटीरतया प्रतीच्छति। भवतु, एवं तावत् करिष्यामि।

(ङ) अस्यान्धकारोत्पादितस्यापराधस्य कृते भवन्तं शीर्षेण प्रसादयामि। इदानीं मे हस्ते प्रयच्छत्वत्रभवान्।

tims were concerned, for the belief in the mission of the white races to order the destinies of the East for the greater good of the Orientals is a comfortable doctrine of quite modern growth. Instead they occupied in their own sight something of the position of the Children of Israel, and never doubted but that the spoiling of the Egyptian must be pleasing to the God of justice and love. Moreover, since the Portuguese were a people of the Peninsula, with whom the hatred of the Moors was an inherited superstition, their religious faith tended to stimulate them to ill-doing, and was in no sense a restraining influence. Many of the early adventurers were animated by a sincere zeal for their religion, and by a keen desire to force its acceptance upon all and sundry whom they might encounter, and to these the invasion of the East undoubtedly presented itself in the light of a new Crusade. The religious motive is found cropping up in the most unlikely people, and in the most grotesquely improbable circumstances, throughout the history of the doings of the early filibusters, and the cruelty and ruthlessness which avarice and ambition dictated found their constant justification in Christian fanaticism. It is necessary to appreciate the existence of this double incentive to conquest by which the Portuguese were animated in order to understand how it was possible for so much wickedness to be done under the cloak of religion. To the filibuster of the sixteenth century God fought ever on his side, and the stubborn fight in which he was engaged was battle done for the Cross. The enemy, therefore, was of necessity the child of the devil, and to

नायकः—किं भवानिदानीं मां बाधते ।

भवांस्तावदविश्वासी शीलज्ञो मम नित्यशः ।
किं पुनः स कलाजीवी वञ्चनापण्डितो जनः ॥ १६ ॥

विदूषकः—(क) मण्णे मए मन्दभग्गेण कुम्भीळस्स हत्थे दिण्णं । (विषण्णस्तिष्ठति ।)

(प्रविश्य)

ब्राह्मणी—(ख) रदणिए! अय्यमेत्तेअं सद्दावेहि ।

चेटी—(ग) अय्यमेत्तेअ! भट्टिदारिआ तुमं[1] सद्दावेदि ।

विदूषकः—(घ) भोदि! किं मं ।

चेटी—(ङ) आम ।

विदूषकः—(च) एस आअच्छामि । (उपसर्पति ।)

ब्राह्मणी—(छ) अय्यमेत्तेअ! इमं पडिग्गहं पडिगह्ण ।

(क) मन्ये मया मन्दभाग्येन कुम्भीलस्य हस्ते दत्तम् ।
(ख) रदनिके! आर्यमैत्रेयं शब्दापय ।
(ग) आर्यमैत्रेय! भर्तृदारिका त्वां शब्दापयति ।
(घ) भवति! किं माम् ।
(ङ) आम ।
(च) एष आगच्छामि ।
(छ) आर्यमैत्रेय! इमं प्रतिग्रहं प्रतिगृहाण ।

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1. 'थं' ख. पाठः.

such all rights of person or property were of course denied. The earth and the fulness thereof was God's gift to his people; the Muhammadan or the pagan who chanced to be in possession was logically to be regarded as a usurper of the Christian's inheritance, and force or fraud were weapons which might be freely used in order to deprive him of that to which, in the sight of the Almighty, he had no just claim. It was in this spirit that the Papal Bulls divided the newly discovered earth between the kings of Spain and Portugal; it was in this spirit that the filibusters set to work to give effect to those sweeping decrees; and it was in this spirit that deeds were wrought in Asia which have done more than aught else to rear up between the brown and the white races barriers which few, even in our own day, have the tact, the patience, the sympathy or the energy to surmount.

With the first few fleets which sailed from Portugal during the years that succeeded the rounding of the Cape of Good Hope, we have at present no concern, since their goal was India, and they did not penetrate to the seas or ports of southeastern Asia. In 1508, however, on April 5th, of that year, Diogo Lopez de Siqueira, the Chief *Almotaçel* of the kingdom of Portugal, set sail as captain of four vessels with royal instructions to explore and conquer Malacca, a rumour concerning the wealth and importance of that city having reached the Portuguese in India, and having by them been reported to headquarters. A great deal has been made of the treachery of the Sultan of Malacca,

विदूषकः—(क) अवत्थाविरुद्धो खु अअं पदाणविभवो। कुदो एदस्स आगमो ।

ब्राह्मणी—(ख) णं सट्ठिं उववसामि । सव्वसारविभवेण बह्मणेण सोत्थि वाअइदव्वं त्ति एसो इमस्स आगमो ।

विदूषकः—(ग) अट्ठमी खु अज्ज ।

ब्राह्मणी—(घ) पेमा(दा)दो अदिक्कमो किदो । अज्ज पूआ णिव्वत्तीअदि ।

विदूषकः—(ङ) †(अणवदावदाए ?) पदाणस्स अणुक्कोसो विअ पडिभादि । (जनान्तिकम्) रदणिए ! किं करिस्सं ।

चेटी—(अपवार्य) (च) किंणुखु तस्स जणस्स दादव्वं

(क) अवस्थाविरुद्धः खल्वयं प्रदानविभवः । कुत एतस्यागमः ।

(ख) ननु षष्ठीमुपवसामि । सर्वसारविभवेन ब्राह्मणेन स्वस्ति वाचयितव्य-मित्येषोऽस्यागमः ।

(ग) अष्टमी खल्वद्य ।

(घ) प्रमादाद् अतिक्रमः कृतः । अद्य पूजा निर्वर्त्यते ।

(ङ) (अणवदावदाए?) प्रदानस्यानुक्रोश इव प्रतिभाति । रदनिके! किं करि-ष्यामि ।

(च) किन्नुखलु तस्मै जनाय दातव्यं भविष्यतीत्येतन्निमित्तं भर्तृदारकः

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१. 'षा' ख, पाठः.

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† 'अणुवदाए' इति स्यात् ।

and of his double-dealing with Siqueira, and it is therefore well to note that the latter came to his kingdom, not merely in the guise of a peaceful trader, as others of many nationalities had come before him, but with the deliberate design of "conquering" the land. It was here that the white men differed so materially from the Arabs, the natives of India, and the Chinese, all of whom had during many centuries carried on an extensive commerce in Asia. With none of these people were exploration and conquest synonymous terms. The Hindus, at a very early period, had deeply impressed Java, Lâmbok and Bâli with their influence, and they have left an enduring mark upon the superstitious beliefs and upon the magic practices of the Malayans. None the less, there is no record of anything resembling a Hindu invasion of these islands. Similarly the Muhammadan traders settled in the Archipelago and in the Malay Peninsula had succeeded, by the beginning of the sixteenth century, in converting the bulk of the native populations to the faith of Islâm, but they had not profited by the moral and intellectual ascendency thus gained to wrest the reins of government from the rulers of the land. The Chinese, too, after the period of the great Tartar invasion and the innumerable expeditions of Kublai Kaan, had traded freely with Persia, with India and with Malaya without seeking to annex an inch of foreign territory. The Portuguese, on the other hand, and many of the white nations after them, trusted, not so much to peaceful commerce, but to lawless pillage for their speedy enrichment, and the annual fleets sent

भविस्सदि त्ति एदण्णिमित्तं भट्टिदारओ सन्तप्पदि त्ति भट्टि-दारिआ तव हत्थे दइअ अय्यउत्तं अणिरिणं करिस्सामि त्ति एवं करेदि। ता गह्ण एदं।

ब्राह्मणी—(क) उदअसम्भवदाए मुत्तावळीए तव अ दु-ळहदाए उवआरो विस्सरिदो। गह्ण एदं। (ददाति)

विदूषकः—(गृहीत्वा) (ख) सव्वं दाव चिट्ठदु। रोदिदी विअ होदीए दिट्ठी।

ब्राह्मणी—(ग) देवउळधूमेण रोदाविदा।

विदूषकः—(घ) साविदासि तत्तहोदा चारुदत्तेण, जइ अळिअं भणासि।

ब्राह्मणी—(ङ) हद्धि। (निष्क्रान्ता।)

विदूषकः—(च) एसा वाआए दुक्खं रक्खिअ अस्सूहि सू-इअ गआ। (उपगम्य) भो! इदं।

संतप्यत इति भर्तृदारिका तव हस्ते दत्त्वार्यपुत्रमनृणं करिष्यामीत्येवं करोति। तद् गृहाणैतत्।

(क) उदकसम्भवतया मुक्तावल्यास्तव च दुर्लभतयोपचारो विस्मृतः। गृहा-णैतत्।

(ख) सर्वं तावत् तिष्ठतु। रोदितीव भवत्या दृष्टिः।

(ग) देवकुलधूमेन रोदिता।

(घ) शापितासि तत्रभवता चारुदत्तेन, यद्यलीकं भणासि।

(ङ) हा धिक्।

(च) एषा वाचा दुःखं रक्षित्वाश्रुभिः सूचयित्वा गता। भोः! इदम्।

out from Lisbon started on nothing more nor less than a succession of filibustering raids. Their objects were to confirm the power of Portugal in the regions already reduced to subjection, to extend the conquest in new directions, and thus to squeeze the kings and the populations of the East dry of all the wealth which they could be made to yield, employing for that purpose every device which cunning could suggest, and which force, courage, and an unscrupulous ruthlessness could translate into action.

When Diogo Lopez de Siqueira reached Cochim he found the affairs of Portugal in a condition which was far from edifying. The viceroy for the time being was Dom Francisco Dalmeida, but the great Alfonso Dalboquerque, fresh from his furious battles in the Persian Gulf, claimed that the government ought to be handed over to him by virtue of certain documents, giving him the reversion of the viceroyalty, which he had received from the King prior to his departure from Portugal. Dalmeida was very loth to resign his authority to any man, least of all to Dalboquerque towards whom he seems to have entertained a lively feeling of dislike, and at the moment of the arrival of Siqueira the position had become extremely critical. Dalmeida, recognising this, thought to find a way out of his difficulties by inviting Siqueira to assume the governorship of the Indies, declaring that if this could be arranged he, Dalmeida, would forthwith set out for Portugal taking Alfonso Dalboquerque with him. The prudent Siqueira, however, would have nothing to do with any such

नायकः— किमेतत् ।

विदूषकः—(क) सरिसकुळदारसङ्गहस्स फळं ।

नायकः— किं ब्राह्मणी मामनुकम्पते ।

विदूषकः—(ख) एवं विअ ।

नायकः— धिगात्मानम् । अद्य हतोऽस्मि ।

मयि द्रव्यक्षयक्षीणे स्त्रीद्रव्येणानुकम्पितः ।
अर्थतः पुरुषो नारी या नारी सार्थतः पुमान् ॥ १७ ॥

विदूषकः—(ग) तत्तहोदी हिअएण तुमं याचेदि । अहं सीसेण यो[1]चेमि । गह्ण एदं ।

नायकः— तथा । (गृहीत्वा) वयस्य ! इमां मुक्तावलीं गृहीत्वा वसन्तसेनायाः सकाशं गच्छ ।

अर्थेषु काममुपलभ्य मनोरथो मे
स्त्रीणां धनेष्वनुचितं प्रणयं करोति ।
माने च कार्यकरणे च विलम्बमानो
धिग् भोः ! कुलं च पुरुषस्य दरिद्रतां च ॥ १८ ॥

विदूषकः—(घ) [2]अहो अप्पमुळ्ळस्स[3] सुवण्णभण्डअस्स किदे सदसहस्समुळ्ळा मुत्तावळी णी[4]आइदव्वा ।

(क) सदृशकुलदारसंग्रहस्य फलम् ।

(ख) एवमिव ।

(ग) तत्रभवती हृदयेन त्वां याचते । अहं शीर्षेण याचे । गृहाणेतत् ।

(घ) अहो अल्पमूल्यस्य सुवर्णभाण्डकस्य कृते शतसहस्रमूल्या मुक्तावली निर्यातयितव्या ।

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१. 'आएमि', २. 'भो! अहो', ३. 'स्स कि', ४. 'णिय्याद' ख. पाठः.

proposal. "*Laissez moi donc planter mes pois,*" he said in effect; for while he did his best to ingratiate himself with both contending factions, he pointed out that he had come to the East for the purpose of exploiting Malacca, and that his only desire was to set forth upon that undertaking so soon as his ships should have undergone certain much needed repairs. Eventually, therefore, taking with him some of the followers of Dalboquerque who had incurred the anger of Dalmeida, he left the quarrelsome atmosphere of Cochim, and sailed across the Indian Ocean to the Straits.

The Malay chronicler tells us in the *Hikâyat Hang Tûah* that from the first moment of their arrival in the port the strangers began to abuse the hospitality extended to them, and that having obtained a grant from the Sultan of as much land as could be enclosed by a buffalo's hide, they adopted the stratagem of the Pious Æneas, and cutting it into thin strips made it the boundary line for a goodly plot of ground. Upon this, so the chronicler tells us, they proceeded to build a formidable citadel whose position menaced the town and the royal precincts, whereupon trouble ensued. The version which comes to us from Portuguese sources is somewhat different. Here we learn that Siqueira received a warning from a Javanese girl, who was the mistress of one of his men, that treachery was meditated. This girl swam off to the Portuguese ships under the cover of darkness, and brought word that the Sultan intended to massacre the white men at a great banquet to which he would presently invite them, and that when this piece of business

नायकः — वयस्य ! मा मैवम् ।

यं समालक्ष्य विश्वासं न्यासोऽस्मासु कृतस्तया ।
तस्यैतन्महतो मूल्यं प्रत्ययस्य प्रदीयताम् ॥ १९ ॥

(निष्क्रान्ताः[1] सर्वे ।)

तृतीयोऽङ्कः ।

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१. 'न्तौ ।' ख. पाठः.

had been despatched, he would seize upon their ships. This intelligence, which may quite possibly have been true, does not appear to have been in any way tested by Siqueira, who seems to have accepted it unreservedly, and to have acted at once with more, perhaps, of promptitude than of wisdom. He sent a native man and woman ashore "with an arrow passed through their skulls" to the Sultan, "who was thus informed," de Barros tells us, "through his subjects that unless he kept a good watch the treason which he had perpetrated would be punished with fire and sword." The Sultan retaliated by arresting Ruy de Araujo, the factor, "and twenty other men who were on land with him attending to the collection of the cargo of the ships," though it is to be noted that the Muhammadan monarch used them with no such atrocious barbarity as that which the Christian captain had practised upon his Malay victims.

Siqueira, finding his force thus considerably diminished, burnt two of his vessels, since he had not enough men to navigate them, and sailed out of Malacca, proceeding himself direct to Portugal, after despatching a couple of vessels to bear the tidings of his abortive enterprise to Cochim, where the great Alfonso Dalboquerque was now reigning unopposed.

The news of the check which Siqueira had received caused considerable annoyance to the authorities both in Portugal and in India, and on March 12th, 1510, Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos with a fleet of four ships set out "to go and conquer Malacca." The situation in India, however, was at this moment so critical that Alfonso

अथ चतुर्थोऽङ्कः ।

(ततः प्रविशति[1] सोत्कण्ठा वसन्तसेना, चित्रफलकामादाय वर्तिकाकरण्डहस्ता चेटी च ।)

गणिका—(क) हञ्जे! पेक्खसि[2] सरिसी तस्स जणस्स ।

चेटी—(ख) अज्जुए! तस्सिं हत्थिविमद्दकोळाहळे बहुमाणपय्यत्थाए दिट्ठीए दूरदो दिट्ठो सो भट्टिदारओ ईदिसो एव्व ।

गणिका—(ग) तुमं दाव दक्खो वेसवासजणो त्ति जणवादं पूरअन्ती अळिअं भणासि ।

चेटी—(घ) किं एदं वेसवासजणो सव्वो दक्खिणो होइ त्ति। पेक्खदु अज्जुआ चम्पआरामे पिचुमन्दा जाअन्ति। अदिसरिस त्ति मम हिअअं अहिरमदि । परमत्थदो एव्व पसंसीअदि णं कामदेवो ।

(क) हञ्जे! पश्यसि सदृशी तस्य जनस्य ।

(ख) अज्जुके! तस्मिन् हस्तिविमर्दकोलाहले बहुमानपर्यस्तया दृष्ट्या दूरतो दृष्टः स भर्तृदारक ईदृश एव ।

(ग) त्वं तावद् दक्षो वेशवासजन इति जनवादं पूरयन्त्यलीकं भणासि ।

(घ) किमेतद् वेशवासजनः सर्वो दक्षिणो भवतीति । पश्यत्वज्जुका चम्पकारामे पिचुमन्दा जायन्ते । अतिसदृश इति मम हृदयमभिरमते । परमार्थत एव प्रशस्यते ननु कामदेवः ।

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१. 'ति व', २. 'सरिखो तस्स अय्यस्स' क. पाठः.



ALFONSO DALBOQUERQUE.
(From the *Commentaries of Dalboquerque*, by permission of the Hakluyt Society.)

[*Face page* 54.

गणिका—(क) हञ्जे! सहीजणेण अवहसणीअत्तणं अत्तणो परिहरामि।

चेटी—(ख) एदं जुज्जइ। सहीजणसपत्तिओ गणिआजणो णाम।

(ततः प्रविशत्याभरणहस्तापरा चेटी।)

चेटी—(ग) सुहं अज्जुआए।

गणिका—(घ) हञ्जे! साअदं दे।

चेटी—(ङ) अज्जुए! अत्ता आणवेदि—इदं दुवारं पविट्ठं पोक्खरं उवावत्तिदं पवहणं। तां तुवरमाणमण्डणा गहीदावउण्ठणा आअच्छदु त्ति। इह अळङ्कारं अळङ्करेदु अज्जुआ।

गणिका—(च) किं अय्यचारुदत्तो मण्डइस्सिदि।

(क) हञ्जे! सखीजनेनापहसनीयत्वमात्मनः परिहरामि।

(ख) एतद् युज्यते। सखीजनसपत्नीको गणिकाजनो नाम।

(ग) सुखमज्जुकायाः।

(घ) हञ्जे! स्वागतं ते।

(ङ) अज्जुके! अम्बाज्ञापयति—इदं द्वारं प्रविष्टं पौष्करमुपावर्तितं प्रवहणम्। तत् त्वरमाणमण्डना गृहीतावगुण्ठनागच्छत्विति। इहालङ्कारमलङ्करोत्वज्जुका।

(च) किमार्यचारुदत्तो मण्डयिष्यति।

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१. 'सीअ', २. 'त्ताणं प', ३. 'परित्ति' ख. पाठः. ४. 'त्वलङ्कारहस्ता चे' क. पाठः. ५. 'ता तुवं तुर' ख. पाठः.

Dalboquerque refused to allow Vasconcellos to proceed upon his way, and retained him and his fleet to aid him in a combined attack upon Goa. The hands of the greatest of the Portuguese viceroys were more than usually full at this juncture. The coming of the filibusters had set the whole of the western coast of India in a flame of war; the Portuguese settlements on the island of Socotra and in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf were importunate in their prayers to Dalboquerque to come to their assistance; and meanwhile, in distant Malacca, a number of white men, held in captivity by the Malays, were scanning the sky-line to the north hoping to sight the rescuing fleet for which, during so weary a period, they looked in vain.

By February, 1511, however, Goa had been retaken, and the Coromandel coast was for the moment cowed into submission, wherefore Dalboquerque had leisure at last to look to the more remote portions of his dominions. In that month, accordingly, he set out for the Straits of Hormuz to carry succour to those of his countrymen in that direction whose clamour, backed by repeated orders from the King to erect a fort at Aden, had distracted him all the time that he was too deeply engaged in India to be able to spare them a man or a ship. But the winds proved adverse, and finding that he battled with them in vain, Dalboquerque decided to make a virtue of necessity, and to turn his face towards the Straits of Malacca. Diogo Mendez de Vasconcellos who, it will be remembered, had been sent out for the special purpose of chastising the Sultan of their kingdom, had throughout

चेटी — (क) णहि, जेण अळङ्कारो पेसिदो सो राअसाळो सण्ठाणो ।

गणिका — (ख) अवेहि अविणीदे ! ।

चेटी — (ग) पसीददु पसीददु अज्जुआ । सन्देसं खु अहं मन्तेमि । (पादयोः पतति ।)

गणिका — (घ) उट्ठेहि उट्ठेहि । कुसन्देसं असूआमि, ण तुवं ।

चेटी — ( ) किं अहं अत्तं भणामि ।

गणिका — (च) भणेहि अत्तं — जदा अय्यचारुदत्तो अभिसारइदव्वो तदा मण्डेमि त्ति ।

चेटी — (छ) तह । (निष्क्रान्ता ।)

(क) नहि, येनालङ्कारः प्रेषितः स राजस्यालः संस्थानः ।

(ख) अपेह्यविनीते ।

(ग) प्रसीदतु प्रसीदत्वज्जुका । सन्देशं खल्वहं मन्त्रये ।

(घ) उत्तिष्ठोत्तिष्ठ । कुसन्देशमसूयामि, न त्वाम् ।

(ङ) किमहमम्बां भणामि ।

(च) भणाम्बां — यदार्यचारुदत्तोऽभिसारयितव्यस्तदा मण्डयामीति ।

(छ) तथा ।

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1. 'सन्देसं खु अहं अ' ख. पाठः.

shown great restlessness under the restraint imposed upon him by Dalboquerque, and at last, defying the viceroy, he actually set sail for Malacca on his own account. Dalboquerque, however, succeeded in recalling him, and as a punishment for his insubordination sent him back to Portugal in disgrace. Accordingly the task of subduing the Sultan of Malacca now fell to Dalboquerque's lot without the assistance of the men actually appointed by the King of Portugal for that purpose, and the viceroy set about its accomplishment in his own thorough fashion.

The lawlessness which characterised the proceedings of the Portuguese at this period is well exemplified by the first incident recorded by the author of the *Commentaries* as having occurred during the voyage to Malacca. "When they had got as far as Ceilao (Ceylon)," he tells us, "they caught sight of a ship. Alfonso Dalboquerque gave orders to chase her, and they took her, and he was very glad to find that it belonged to the Guzerates, as he felt his voyage would now be carried out safely, for the Guzerates understand the navigation of those parts much more thoroughly than any other nations, on account of the great commerce they carry on in those places." Here we have given to us an instance of the acts of unprovoked piracy which the Portuguese, from the moment of their arrival in the East, were accustomed to commit as a matter of course; and if some excuse be found in the fact that pilots were needed, no similar justification can be alleged for the capture of four other Guzerati vessels which Dalboquerque chased and took

(ततः प्रविशति सज्जलकः ।)

सज्जलकः—

कृत्वा निशायां वचनीयदोषं
निद्रां च हित्वा तिमिरं भयं च ।
स एव सूर्योदयमन्दवीर्यः
शनैर्दिवा चन्द्र इवास्मि भीतः ॥ १ ॥

दिष्ट्या कर्मान्ते प्रभातम् । यावदिदानीं वसन्तसेनायाः परिचारिकाया मदनिकाया निष्क्रयार्थं मयेदं कृतम् । (परिक्रम्य) इदं वसन्तसेनाया गृहम् । यावत् प्रविशामि । (प्रविश्य) किन्नुखल्वभ्यन्तरस्था मदनिका । अथवा, पूर्वाह्णे गणिकानामभ्यन्तरे सान्निध्यम् । अतस्तत्रैव तया भवितव्यम् । यावच्छब्दापयामि । मदनिके ! मदनिके ! ।

चेटी—(आकर्ण्य) (क) सज्जलअस्स विअ सरो[२]। वावुदा अज्जुआ । ता उवसप्पिस्सं । (उपगम्य) इअह्मि ।

सज्जलकः—इतस्तावत् ।

चेटी—(ख) किं तुवं सङ्किदवण्णो विअ ।

सज्जलकः—न खलु, किञ्चित् कथयितुकामः ।

(क) सज्जलकस्येव स्वरः । व्यापृताज्जुका । तदुपसर्पिष्यामि । इयमस्मि ।
(ख) किं त्वं शङ्कितवर्ण इव ।

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१. 'मन्दः ॥', २. 'रो । अण्णवा' ख. पाठः.

गणिका — (क) हञ्जे ! इमं चित्तफळअं सअणीए ट्ठावेहि। (विलोक्य) कहिं गआ हदासा। अहव अदूरगआए होदव्वं। जाव णं पेक्खिस्सं। (परिक्रम्यावलोक्य) अम्मो इअं सा अदिसिणिद्धाए दिट्ठीए केण वि मणुस्सेण पिबन्ती विअ सह मन्तअन्ती चिट्ठइ। तक्केमि एसो जो को वि क्कएण मं याचेदि।

सज्जलकः —श्रूयतां रहस्यम्।

गणिका — (ख) अजुत्तं पररहस्सं सोदुं, अहं गमिस्सं।

सज्जलकः — अपि वसन्तसेना (इत्यर्धोक्ते)

गणिका — (ग) अहं अहिईदा एदाअं कहाअं। होदु, सुणिस्सं दाव[2] भविस्सदि। (पुनः प्रतिनिवृत्य स्थिता।)

सज्जलकः — किं दास्यति त्वां निष्क्रयेण।

गणिका — (घ) सो एव्व एसो। होदु, सुणिस्सं।

(क) हञ्जे! इदं चित्रफलकं शयनीये स्थापय। कुत्र गता हताशा। अथवा अदूरगतया भवितव्यम्। यावदेनां प्रेक्षिष्ये। अम्मो इयं सातिस्निग्धया दृष्ट्या केनापि मनुष्येण पिबन्तीव सह मन्त्रयमाणा तिष्ठति। तर्कयाम्येष यःकोऽपि क्रयेण मां याचते।

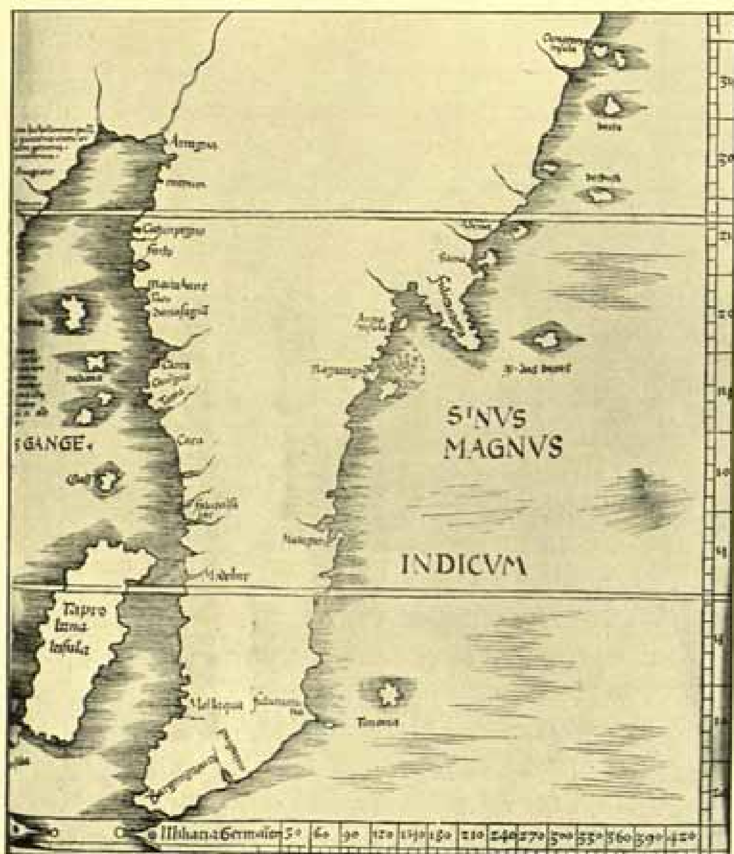
(ख) अयुक्तं पररहस्यं श्रोतुम्, अहं गमिष्यामि।

(ग) अहमधिकृतैतस्यां कथायाम्। भवतु, श्रोष्यामि तावद् भविष्यति।

(घ) स एवैषः। भवतु, श्रोष्यामि।

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१. 'अ', २. 'मि' ख. पाठः.



MALAY PENINSULA, BY WALDSIEMULLER. STRASSBURG PTOLEMY, 1513.
(Copied from Canerio map, 1502.)

[Face page 56.

चेटी—(क) सज्जलअ! ममप्पदाणं पुढमं एव्व अज्जुआए उत्तं ।

सज्जलकः—तेन ह्रीममस्यै प्रयच्छ, एवं वक्तव्या च—

अयं तव शरीरस्य प्रमाणादिव निर्मितः ।
अप्रकाश्यो ह्यलङ्कारो मत्स्नेहाद् धार्यतामिति ॥ २ ॥

चेटी—(ख) पेक्खामि दाव ।

सज्जलकः—गृह्यताम् । (दर्शयति ।)

चेटी—(ग) दिट्ठपुरुवो विअ अअं अळङ्कारो ।

गणिका—(घ) ममकेरओ विअ अअं अळङ्कारो ।

चेटी—(ङ) भणाहि भणाहि । को इमस्स आअमो ।

सज्जलकः—त्वत्स्नेहात् साहसं कृतम् ।

उभे—(च) हं, साहसिओ ।

चेटी—(आत्मगतम्) (छ) आ, अज्जुआए खु इमस्स आ-

(क) सज्जलक! मम प्रदानं प्रथममेवाज्जुकयोक्तम् ।
(ख) पश्यामि तावत् ।
(ग) दृष्टपूर्व इवायमलङ्कारः ।
(घ) मदीय इवायमलङ्कारः ।
(ङ) भण भण । कोऽस्यागमः ।
(च) हं, साहसिकः ।
(छ) आ, अज्जुकायाः खल्वस्याकृतिः कर्मदारुणतयोद्वेजनीया संवृत्ता । हा

१. 'प', २. 'श' ख. पाठः.

between Ceylon and Sumatra. The man who was acting in this fashion, too, was no irresponsible free-booter, but the Portuguese viceroy of the Indies, and his piracies afford us a just index to the spirit and conduct of his countrymen in Asia. It is true that sea-brigandage in the East has been suppressed finally by the nations of Europe, but it is well to remember that at an earlier period the white men themselves were the most ruthless and daring of all the rovers who infested Asiatic waters.

The first port touched at by Dalboquerque was that of Pĕdir in Sumatra, where he found one Joao Viegas and "eight Christians of the company of Ruy de Araujo, who had arrived thus far in their flight from the city of Malacca, and Joao Viegas recounted to him how the king of Malacca had endeavoured to force them to become Moors, and had ordered some of them to be tied hand and foot and circumcised; and they had suffered many torments because they would not deny the faith of Jesus Christ." All of which was probably true, and was, of course, excessively improper, though the Sultan of Malacca's conduct still compares favourably with that of Siqueira in the matter of the arrow passed through the skulls of a man and a woman. Viegas also told Dalboquerque that "a principal Moor of Malacca," named Naodabegea, [Nakhôda Bĕgak] who had instigated the Sultan to cut off Siqueira, and had subsequently joined with the Bĕndăhâra of Malacca in a plot against the throne, was even then in hiding in the neighbouring Sumatran kingdom of Pâseh. To Pâseh, therefore, Dalboquerque forthwith sailed, and

इदी कम्मदारुणदाए उव्वेअणीआ संवुत्ता । (प्रकाशम्) हद्धि मम किदे उभअं संसइदं संवुत्तं — तव सरीरं चारित्तं च ।

सज्जलकः — उन्मत्तिके ! साहसे खलु श्रीर्वसति ।

चेटी — (क) अपण्डिदो[1] खु सि । को हि णाम जीविदेण सरीरं विक्कीणिस्सदि । अह कस्स गेहे इअं विस्सासवञ्चणा किदा ।

सज्जलकः — यथा प्रभाते मया श्रुतं — श्रेष्ठिचत्वरे प्रतिवसति सार्थवाहपुत्रश्चारुदत्तो नाम ।

उभे — हुं[2] ।

सज्जलकः — अयि,

विषादस्रस्तसर्वाङ्गी सम्भ्रमोत्फुल्ललोचना ।
मृगीव शरविद्धाङ्गी[3] कम्पसे चानुकम्पसे ॥ ३ ॥

चेटी — (ख) सच्चं[4] भणाहि । सत्थवाहकुळे साहसं करन्तेण तुए कोच्चि कुळवुत्तो सत्थेण अत्थि परिक्खदो वावादिदो वा ।

धिग् मम कृते उभयं संशयितं संवृत्तं — तव शरीरं चारित्रं च ।

(क) अपण्डितः खल्वासि । को हि नाम जीवितेन शरीरं विक्रेष्यति । अथ कस्य गेहे इयं विश्वासवञ्चना कृता ।

(ख) सत्यं भण । सार्थवाहकुले साहसं कुर्वता त्वया कश्चित् कुलपुत्रः शस्त्रेणास्ति परिक्षतो व्यापादितो वा ।

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१. 'दुज्जण्णो खु' क. पाठः. २. 'हं', ३. 'दिग्धाङ्गी', ४. 'व्वं' ख. पाठः.

गणिका—(क) सुट्ठु, मए वि[1] पुच्छिदव्वं एदाए पुच्छिदं।

सज्जलकः—मदनिके! एतावत् किं न पर्याप्तं, द्वितीयमप्यकार्यं करिष्यामि। न खल्वत्र[2] शस्त्रेण कश्चित् परिक्षतो व्यापादितो वा।

चेटी—(ख) सज्जळअ! सच्चं।

सज्जलकः—सत्यम्।

चेटी—(ग) साहु सज्जळअ! पिअं मे।

सज्जलकः—किं किं प्रियमित्याह। ईदृशं मदनिके!

त्वत्स्नेहबद्धहृदयो हि करोम्यकार्यं
सन्तुष्टपूर्वपुरुषेऽपि कुले प्रसूतः।
रक्षामि मन्मथगृहीतमिदं शरीरं
मित्रं च मां व्यपदिशस्यपरं च यासि॥ ४॥

चेटी—(घ) सज्जळअ! सुणाहि। अज्जुआए अअं अळङ्कारो। (कर्णे) एव्वं विअ।

सज्जलकः—एवम्।

(क) सुष्ठु, मयापि प्रष्टव्यमेतया पृष्टम्।
(ख) सज्जलक! सत्यम्।
(ग) साधु सज्जलक! प्रियं मे।
(घ) सज्जलक! शृणु। अज्जुकाया अयमलङ्कारः। एवमिव।

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१. 'वि अ पु', २. 'लु तत्र' ख. पाठः.

demanded that the "Moor" in question should be delivered up to him, but the King of Pâseh, as became a Malayan *râja*, made all manner of specious excuses, and professed his utter inability to lay hands on the conspirator. Dalboquerque, conceiving that the hour had not yet come for the declaration of hostilities with the King of Pâseh, concealed his chagrin as best he might, and proceeded on his way to Malacca. Chance, however, favoured him, for he presently caught sight of a large native vessel, which his people captured after a hard fight. On board this ship they found Naodabegea himself, "half dead, without any blood flowing from the numerous wounds which he had received. Aires Pereira commanded the mariners to throw him into the sea just as he was; but when they perceived that he was richly clothed, they sought first of all to strip him, and then they found on his left arm a bracelet of bone, set in gold, and when they took this off his blood flowed away and he expired." The survivors of the crew informed Dalboquerque that "the bracelet was formed of the bones of certain animals which were called *cabals*, that are bred in the mountain ranges of the kingdom of Siam, and the person who carries these bones so that they touch his flesh can never lose his blood, however many wounds he may receive, so long as they are kept on him."

The term used by the natives was unquestionable *kĕbal* (often pronounced *kâbal* by the Malays of Sumatra) which means *invulnerable*, and all they intended to convey was, we may surmise, that the bracelet was a charm which conferred this advantage upon its possessor, and

अज्ञानाद् या मया पूर्वं शाखा पत्रैर्वियोजिता ।
छायार्थी ग्रीष्मसन्तप्तस्तामेव पुनराश्रितः ॥ ५ ॥

गणिका—(क) सन्तप्पदि त्ति तक्केमि एदेण अकय्यं किदं त्ति ।

सज्जलकः—मदनिके ! एवं गते किं कर्तव्यम् ।

चेटी—(ख) तहिं एव णिय्यादेहि, णहि मण्डइस्सदि अज्जुआ ।

सज्जलकः—अथेदानीं सोऽमर्षान्मां चोर इति रक्षिपुरुषैर्ग्राहयिष्यति चेदत्र किं करिष्यामि ।

चेटी—(ग) मा भाआहि भाआहि । कुलवुत्तो खु सो गुणाणं परितुस्सदि ।

गणिका—(घ) साहु भद्दे! अवत्तव्वासि अळङ्किदा वि[1]अ एदेण वअणेण ।

सज्जलकः—सर्वथा न शक्ष्याम्यहं तत्र गन्तुम् ।

चेटी—अअं अण्णो उवाओ ।

(क) संतप्यत इति तर्कयामि एतेनाकार्यं कृतमिति ।

(ख) तत्रैव निर्यातय, नहि मण्डयिष्यत्यज्जुका ।

(ग) मा बिभीहि बिभीहि । कुलपुत्रः खलु स गुणानां परितुष्यति ।

(घ) साधु भद्रे! अवक्तव्यास्यलङ्कृतेवैतेन वचनेन ।

(ङ) अयमन्य उपायः ।

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1. 'सि' क. पाठः.

that it had been brought to the Peninsula from Siam. Such charms are worn to this day by many a warrior in Malayan lands.

After taking this vessel, Dalboquerque, for some unexplained reason, retraced his steps towards Pâseh, and fell in with two native ships, one from the Coramandel coast, which struck at once, and another from Java, which was only captured after a very spirited resistance, in the course of which the Javanese set fire to their own craft. On board this vessel Dalboquerque found the unfortunate King of Pâseh, "and when he saw him," the *Commentaries* tell us "he begged his pardon very earnestly for this unfortunate affair"—in truth an euphemistic way of describing such an unprovoked act of piracy—"which should not have happened if he had known of his Royal Highness being on board, and he showed him those ceremonies and that good treatment which is due to a personage of such dignity." Dalboquerque also promised to aid the king in subduing certain of his rebellious subjects,—an engagement which cost him nothing since he never intended to keep it—and he then continued his voyage to Malacca, capturing a "very rich junk" upon the way.

He had already pillaged five Guzerati ships between Ceylon and the port of Pêdir; between Pâseh and Malacca he had taken three, one belonging to the Coramandel coast, one manned by men from Java, and a third whose ownership and nationality are unknown. This was sufficient to spread the evil reputation of the strangers far and wide throughout the seas of south-

गणिका—(क) एदे गुणा वेसवासस्स[1]।

सज्जलकः—कोऽन्य उपायः।

चेटी—(ख) णं तव रूवज्जा अज्जुआ अवि सत्थवाहपुत्तो अ।

सज्जलकः—न खलु।

चेटी—(ग) तेण हि इमं दाव अलङ्कारं तस्स सत्थवाहपुत्तस्सवअणादो अज्जुआए णिय्यादेहि। एवं च किदे तुवं रक्खिदो, सो अय्यो अ अणिव्विण्णो भविस्सदि। अहं च[2] पीडिदा ण भविस्सं। आदु अज्जुअं च[3] पुणो वश्चिअ पुणो एव्व दासभावो भवे।

सज्जलकः—मदनिके! प्रीतोऽस्मि।

गणिका—(घ) भोदु अब्भन्तरं पविसिअ उवविसामि। (तथा करोति।)

(क) एते गुणा वेशवासस्य।

(ख) ननु तव रूपज्ञाज्जुकापि सार्थवाहपुत्रश्च।

(ग) तेन हीमं तावदलङ्कारं तस्य सार्थवाहपुत्रस्य वचनादज्जुकायै निर्यातय। एवं च कृते त्वं रक्षितः, स आर्यश्चानिर्विण्णो भविष्यति। अहं च पीडिता न भविष्यामि। अथवा अज्जुकां च पुनर्वञ्चयित्वा पुनरेव दासभावो भवेत्।

(घ) भवत्वभ्यन्तरं प्रविश्योपविशामि।

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१. 'सस्स', २. 'च अपीडिदा भविस्सामि।' ख. पाठः. ३. 'च णो' क. पाठः.

eastern Asia, and to set all the countries bordering them on the defensive, while he now meditated a more decisive stroke—the conquest of Malacca, which then was the head and front of all the Malayan kingdoms—having for his object the establishment of the power of Portugal in the very centre of the commerce of all the eastern Archipelago.

Such then was the first coming of the European filibusters, with which began the real exploration of the lands of southeastern Asia,—lands which were destined, with hardly an exception, to fall under the dominion of the white peoples, lands in which, after a weary period of suffering and of strife, the men of the brown and yellow races were to watch their birthrights pass into the keeping of the strangers.

It was in dramatic fashion that Dalboquerque made his entry into the harbour of Malacca—the entry of the white men into the inviolate lands which destiny had marked for their possession. It was about the hour of sundown, the author of the Chronicles tells us, and to one who knows the Malay Peninsula that phrase conjures up at once a vivid picture. The merciless heat of the tropic day was passed; a grateful coolness, which yet carries with it a suggestion of melancholy, of spent energies, of exhaustion, had succeeded. The sun lay upon the horizon out yonder in the direction of Sumatra, with great banks of resplendent cloud grouped about it; enormous fan-shaped rays of light stretched upward from it till they attained the very summit of the heavens,

चेटी—(क) सज्जलअ! आअच्छ, कामदेवउले मं पडिवाळेहि। अहं ओसरं जाणिअ अज्जुआए णिवेदेमि।

सज्जलकः—बाढम्। (निष्क्रान्तः।)

(ततः प्रविशत्यपरा चेटी।)

चेटी—(ख) सुहं अज्जुआए। एसो सत्थवाहपुत्तस्स सआसादो कोच्चि बह्मणो आअदो अज्जुअं पेक्खिदुं।

गणिका—(सादरम्) (ग) गच्छ, सिग्धं पवेसेहि णं।

चेटी[2]—(घ) तह। (उपसृत्य) एदु एदु अय्यो।

(प्रविश्य)

विदूषकः— (सर्वतो विलोक्य) (ङ) अहो गणिआवाडस्स सस्सिरीअदा। णाणापट्टणसमागदेहि आआमिएहि पुत्तआ वाईअन्ति। संओजअन्ति[3] अ आहारप्पआराणि। वीणा वादी[4]अन्ति। सुवण्णआरा अळङ्कारप्पआराणि आदरेण जोजअन्ति।

(क) सज्जलक! आगच्छ, कामदेवकुले मां प्रतिपालय। अहमवसरं ज्ञात्वाज्जुकायै निवेदयामि।

(ख) सुखमज्जुकायाः। एष सार्थवाहपुत्रस्य सकाशात् कश्चिद् ब्राह्मण आगतोऽज्जुकां द्रष्टुम्।

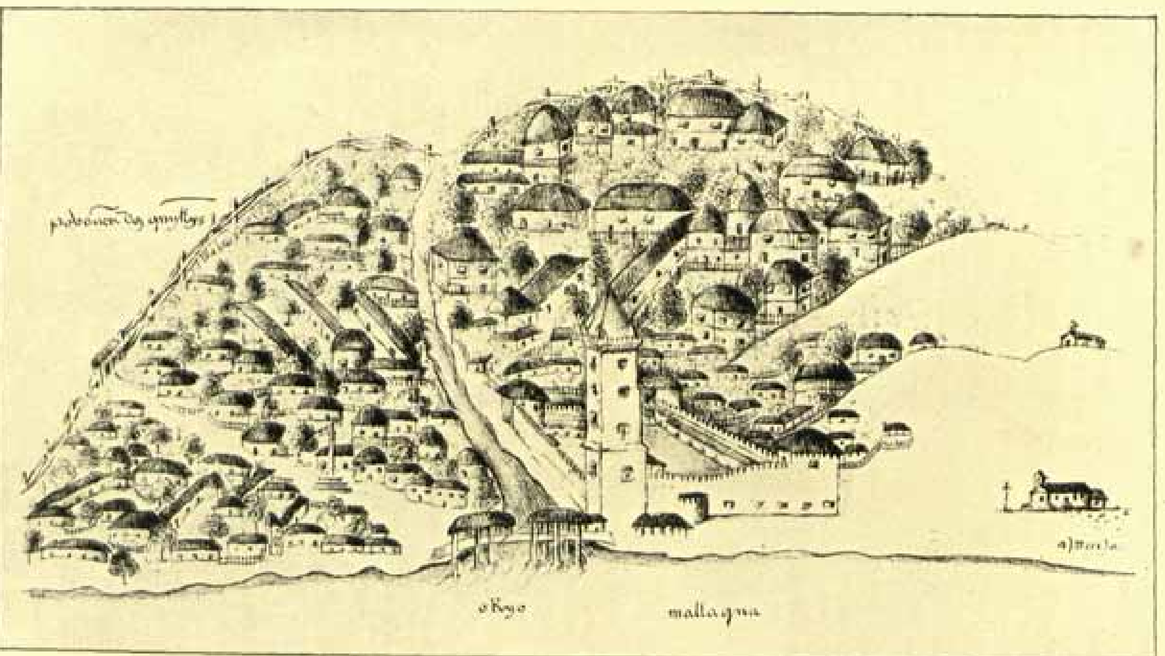
(ग) गच्छ, शीघ्रं प्रवेशयैनम्।

(घ) तथा। एत्वेत्वार्यः।

(ङ) अहो गणिकावाटस्य सश्रीकता। नानापट्टणसमागतैरागमिकैः पुस्तकानि वाच्यन्ते। संयोज्यन्ते चाहारप्रकाराः। वीणा वाद्यन्ते। सुवर्णकारा अलङ्कारप्रकारानादरेण योजयन्ति।

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१. 'का—सि', २. 'टी—ड' ३. 'न्ति आ' ख. पाठः. ४. 'द' क. पाठः.



MALACCA IN THE XVITH CENTURY.
(From the *Commentaries of Dalboquerque, Vol. III.*, by permission of the Hakluyt Society.)

[*Face page 60.*

चेटी—(क) एसा अज्जुआ । उवसप्पदु अय्यो ।

विदूषकः—(उपगम्य) (ख) सोत्थि होदीए ।

गणिका—(ग) साअदं अय्यस्स । हञ्जे! आसणं अय्यस्स पादोदअं च ।

विदूषकः—(आत्मगतम्) (घ) सव्वं आणेदु वज्जिअ भोअणं ।

चेटी—(ङ) जं अज्जुआ आणवेदि । (आसनं ददाति पादोदकं च ।) उवविसदु अय्यो ।

विदूषकः—(उपविश्य) (च) पडिच्छदु आसणं भोदी । अहं किञ्चि भणिदुं आअदो ।

गणिका—(उपविश्य) (छ) अवहिदह्मि ।

विदूषकः—(ज) केत्तिअमत्तं खु तस्स अळङ्कारस्स मुळ्ळप्पमाणं ।

(क) एषाज्जुका । उपसर्पत्वार्यः ।

(ख) स्वस्ति भवत्यै ।

(ग) स्वागतमार्यस्य । हञ्जे! आसनमार्यस्य पादोदकं च ।

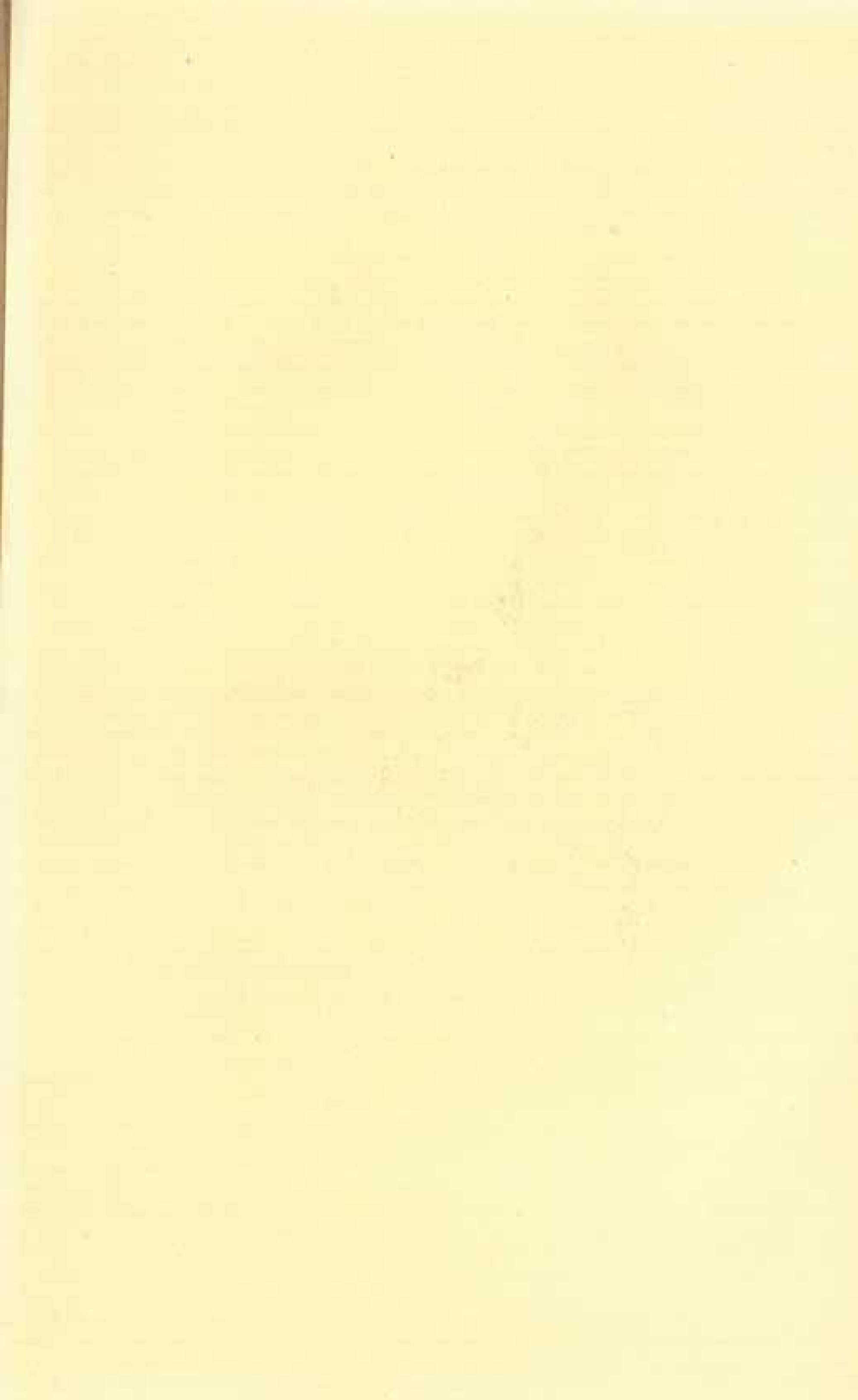
(घ) सर्वमानयतु वर्जयित्वा भोजनम् ।

(ङ) यदज्जुकाज्ञापयति । उपविशत्वार्यः ।

(च) प्रतीच्छत्वासनं भवती । अहं किञ्चिद् भणितुमागतः ।

(छ) अवहितास्मि ।

(ज) कियन्मात्रं खलु तस्यालङ्कारस्य मूल्यप्रमाणम् ।



गणिका—(क) किंणिम्मित्तं खु अय्यो पुच्छदि।

विदूषकः—(ख) सुणादु भोदी। तत्तहोदो चारुदत्तस्स गुणप्पच्चीअणणिमित्तं खु तुए अळङ्कारो तहिं णिक्खित्तो। सो तेण जूदे हारिदो।

गणिका—(ग) जूदे। जुज्जइ। तदो तदो।

विदूषकः—(घ) तदो तस्स अळङ्कारस्स मुळ्ळभूदं इमं मुत्तावळिं पडिच्छदु भोदी।

गणिका—(आत्मगतम्) (ङ) धिक्[२] खु गणिआभावं। ळुद्धत्ति मं तुळअदि। जई[३] ण पडिच्छे, सो एव्व दोसो भविस्सदि। (प्रकाशम्) आणेदु अय्यो।

विदूषकः—(च) इदं गह्णदु भोदी।

गणिका—(गृहीत्वा) (छ) पडिच्छिदं तए त्ति अय्यो णिवेददु।

(क) किन्निमित्तं खल्वार्यः पृच्छति।

(ख) श्रृणोतु भवती। तत्रभवतश्चारुदत्तस्य गुणप्रत्यायननिमित्तं खलु त्वयालङ्कारस्तस्मिन् निक्षिप्तः। स तेन द्यूते हारितः।

(ग) द्यूते। युज्यते। ततस्ततः।

(घ) ततस्तस्यालङ्कारस्य मूल्यभूतामिमां मुक्तावलीं प्रतीच्छतु भवती।

(ङ) धिक् खलु गणिकाभावम्। लुब्धेति मां तुलयति। यदि न प्रतीच्छामि, स एव दोषो भविष्यति। आनयत्वार्यः।

(च) इदं गृह्णातु भवती।

(छ) प्रतीष्टं तयेत्यार्यो निवेदयतु।

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१. 'आअणि', २. 'सिक्ख ग', ३. 'इ ए' क. पाठः.

which stained with every tint of scarlet and purple and gold, showed here and there little inlets of an ethereal azure. Beneath that glory in the skies, the sea, steel-blue under the gathering darkness, heaved gently, monotonously, as a weary sleeper draws his breath, a ruddy sheen marking the furrows between wave and wave. To the landward the native town clung to the beach, swarmed up the sides of small conical hills, and fell away into the heavy forest inshore. Near its centre rose a rude stone building surrounded by a wall draped in crowding creepers, but for the rest the place was a huddle of thatched roofs, rising at all angles, sloping unevenly, set in all directions without order or arrangement, with a blue haze of smoke hanging above them in the motionless air. In the harbour itself junks from China, sharp-nosed *prâhus* from Java or the Archipelago, and fishing-smacks innumerable lay at anchor, and on the yellow stretch of sand before the town, crowds of men and women strolled listlessly, chaffering with the fisherfolk, and enjoying the peace and the coolness after the burden of the day and the heats.

That scene had been enacted daily, repeated in this unchanging climate each succeeding evening for years. It may be witnessed to-day down to its last least detail in the capital of Trĕnggânu which, like ancient Malacca, lies upon the seashore, and as I have sat watching it in this former place, whither as yet the tide of the white man's invasion has not yet attained, it has seemed to me that I have looked back through the centuries upon the

विदूषकः—(आत्मगतम्) (क) को वि उवआरो त्ति णं एदाए भणिदो। (प्रकाशम्।) एवं होदु। (दत्त्वा निष्क्रान्तः।)

गणिका—(ख) साहु चारुदत्त! साहु। भाअधेअपरिवुत्तदाए दसाए माणावमोणिदं रक्खिदं।

(प्रविश्य)

मदनिका—(ग) अज्जुए! सत्थवाहपुत्तस्स सआसादो कोच्चि मणुस्सो आअदो इच्छइ अज्जुअं पेक्खिउं।

गणिका—(घ) किं दिट्ठपुरुवो णवदंसणो वा।

मदनिका—(ङ) अज्जुए! णहि, तस्सकेरओ त्ति मे पडिभादि।

गणिका—(च) गच्छ, पवेसेहि णं।

(क) कोऽप्युपचारोऽपि नैतया भणितः। एवं भवतु।

(ख) साधु! चारुदत्त साधु। भागधेयपरिवृत्ततायां दशायां मानावमानितं रक्षितम्।

(ग) अज्जुके! सार्थवाहपुत्रस्य सकाशात् कश्चिद् मनुष्य आगत इच्छत्यज्जुकां द्रष्टुम्।

(घ) किं दृष्टपूर्वो नवदर्शनो वा।

(ङ) अज्जुके! नहि, तदीय इति मे प्रतिभाति।

(च) गच्छ, प्रवेशयैनम्।

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१. 'अ', २. 'माणं र', ३. 'का—दि' ख. पाठः.

Malayan lands which as yet were free from the aggression of the filibusters of Portugal.

But this evening the beach was thronged more densely than was common, and there was withal a subtle restlessness, a tenseness of expectancy in the air. Word had reached Malacca of the approach of the mysterious strangers from afar, the men with the bearded faces and the corpse-like complexions, the rumour of whose evil doings on the Coramandel coast had carried into the remotest corners of the East. The besetting peril was at hand, even at the gates of the city, but how it might be averted, stayed or met were problems surpassing the wisdom of the wisest.

And then, before the last of the daylight died, as the mobs of gaily clad natives stood upon the shores, oppressed by fear, restless with suspense, their dark faces darker in the gathering gloom, suddenly the West was upon them ere they well knew it. The fleet of Dalboquerque, "all decked with flags, and the men sounding their trumpets," swept into sight from behind the sheltering islands to the north, the great bellying squares of strangely rigged canvas catching the faint breeze. On and on it came, inevitable as Fate, the Power of the West sailing into the heart of Malaya unresisted and irresistible, and with panic in its heart the East stood in impotence watching it from the shore. One by one the vessels came to anchor, and then from all there roared a salvo of artillery, the salute of the white men to their victims, an explosion that broke upon the peace of the quiet scene and sounded the knell of the brown man's

मदनिका — (क) तह । (निष्क्रान्ता ।)

गणिका — (ख) अहो रमणिज्जदा अज्ज दिवसस्स ।

(ततः प्रविशति मदनिका सज्जलकेन सह ।)

सज्जलकः — कष्टा खल्वात्मशङ्का नाम,

यः कश्चिच्चकितगतिर्निरीक्षते मां
सम्भ्रान्तो द्रुतमुपसर्पति स्थितो वा ।
सर्वांस्तांस्तुलयति दोषतो मनो मे
स्वैर्दोषैर्भवति हि शङ्कितो मनुष्यः ॥ ६ ॥

मदनिका — (ग) एसा अज्जुआ । उवसप्पदु अय्यो ।

सज्जलकः — (उपसृत्य) सुखं भवत्यै ।

गणिका — (घ) साअदं अय्यस्स । हञ्जे ! आसणं देदु अय्यस्स ।

सज्जलकः — भवतु भवतु । गृहीतमासनम् । त्वरिततरमनुष्ठेयं किञ्चित् कार्यमस्ति ।

(क) तथा ।

(ख) अहो रमणीयताय दिवसस्य ।

(ग) एषाज्जुका । उपसर्पत्वार्यः ।

(घ) स्वागतमार्यस्य । हञ्जे! आसनं दीयतामार्याय ।

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१. 'ति ! स्व' क. पाठः.

free enjoyment of the lands which God had given to him.

We of this latter age know how much, in the fulness of time, the rule of the white man had served to ease the burden of the peoples of the Malay Peninsula at least; but none the less there is something infinitely pathetic in the contemplation of this rude breaking in of the strangers from the West, the hard and restless workers, upon the indolent peace of these ease-loving peoples; the thought of the storm-torn ships from distant Portugal sailing insolently into this quiet haven while the dusky men of the East stood gazing at them fearfully from the shore, seeing in their coming a sure presage of what the future held for them and for their children.

Upon the arrival of Dalboquerque there followed negotiations of the usual wolf-and-lamb character. The Sultan of Malacca made haste to send a messenger to the Portuguese viceroy, asking why he had come with so great an armament, declaring that he had, poor soul, no keener desire than to live on terms of amity with the King of Portugal, "and giving him to know that the Bendará (Bĕndăhâra) had been put to death on account of his complicity in the rising which had taken place against the Portuguese captain (Diogo Lopez de Siqueira) who had come to that port, and had resulted in the murder of the Christians who were there in the land, but this was no fault of his." The author of the *Commentaries* characterises this pathetic attempt to delay the inevitable as an "artful apology," and tells us that the great Alfonso

गणिका — (क) एवं, भणादु अय्यो ।

सज्जलकः — आर्यचारुदत्तेनास्मि प्रेषितः — यस्तावदलङ्कारो मम हस्ते निक्षिप्तः, स त्वसंभोगमलिनतया गृहस्यासान्निध्यात् कौडुम्बिकानां दुरारक्ष(म् ?ः) । तद् गृह्यताम् इति ।

गणिका — (ख) इमं तस्स चारुदत्तस्स देदु अय्यो ।

सज्जलकः — भवति ! न खल्वहं गच्छामि ।

गणिका — (ग) अहं जाणामि तस्स गेहे साहसं करिअ आणीदो अअं अळङ्कारो । तस्स गुणाणि अणुकम्पेदु अय्यो ।

सज्जलकः — (आत्मगतम्) कथं विदितोऽस्म्यनया ।

गणिका — (घ) को एत्थ, पवहणं दाव अय्यस्स ।

मदनिका — (ङ) णेमिसद्दो विअ सुणीअदि । आअदेण पवहणेण होदव्वं ।

गणिका — (च) (स्वैराभरणैर्मदनिकामलङ्कृत्य) आरुहदु अय्यो अय्याए सह पवहणं ।

(क) एवं, भणत्वार्यः ।

(ख) इदं तस्मै चारुदत्ताय ददात्वार्यः ।

(ग) अहं जानामि तस्य गेहे साहसं कृत्वानीतोऽयमलङ्कारः । तस्य गुणाननुकम्पतामार्यः ।

(घ) कोऽत्र, प्रवहणं तावदार्यस्य ।

(ङ) नेमिशब्द इव श्रूयते । आगतेन प्रवहणेन भवितव्यम् ।

(च) आरोहत्वार्य आर्यया सह प्रवहणम् ।

"dissembled with" the Sultan in the hope that he might by that means get Ruy de Araujo and the other Christians—who, by the same token, do not appear to have been murdered—into his hands, and so into safety, before he delivered his contemplated assault upon the town. The unfortunate Sultan, however, who saw in the possession of hostages the only lever by the aid of which he could hope to bring pressure to bear upon the intruders, replied that he could not regard the surrender of the prisoners as a condition precedent to peace. He was fully prepared to hand them over to Dalboquerque, but pleaded that an agreement of friendship should in the first instance be ratified between himself and the representatives of the King of Portugal. In the circumstances this can only be regarded as a stipulation dictated by common prudence, the more so when the reputation which the Portuguese had earned for themselves in Asia be remembered, but this attempt to "curb the spirit of Alfonso Dalboquerque," as his chronicler calls it, served only to precipitate the doom of Malacca.

The author of the *Commentaries* pretends that Dalboquerque at this time was really averse from war, and would have been well contented if a peaceful settlement could have been arrived at. But viewing the matter impartially, we are forced to accept the conclusion that war was intended from the first, and that the only object of the preliminary parleys was the removal of the captives from the power of the enemy before matters were pushed to an extremity. The pious Alfonso, we are told, seeing that the Sultan remained firm and that he was preparing

मदनिका—(क) अज्जुए! किं एदं।

गणिका—(ख) माखु माखु एवं मन्तिअ। अय्या खु सि दाणिं संवुत्ता। गह्णदु अय्यो। (मदनिकां गृहीत्वा सज्जलकाय प्रयच्छति।)

सज्जलकः—(आत्मगतम्) भोः कदा खल्वस्याः प्रतिकर्तव्यं भविष्यति। अथवा, शान्तं शान्तं पापम्।

नरः प्रत्युपकारार्थी विपत्तौ लभते फलम्।
द्विषतामेव कालोऽस्तु योऽस्या भवतु तस्य वा॥७॥

(तया सह निष्क्रान्तः सज्जलकः।)

गणिका—(ग) चउरिए!।

(प्रविश्य)

चेटी—(घ) अज्जुए! इअह्मि।

गणिका—(ङ) हज्जे! पेक्ख जागरन्तीए मए सिविणो दिट्ठो। एवं।

(क) अज्जुके! किमेतत्।

(ख) मा खलु मा खल्वेवं मन्त्रयित्वा। आर्या खल्वसीदानीं संवृत्ता। गृह्णात्वार्यः।

(ग) चतुरिके!।

(घ) अज्जुके! इयमस्मि।

(ङ) हञ्जे! पश्य जाग्रत्या मया स्वप्नो दृष्टः। एवम्।

himself as best he might to repel an attack, arrived at the comfortable conclusion that "this was a judgment that had come upon the king, and that Our Lord desired to make an end of him for good and all, and to cast the Moors and the very name of Mafamede, out of the land, and to have his Gospel preached in these regions, and their mosques transformed into houses of God's praise by means of the King D. Manuel and by the labours of his subjects, so he gave orders for an attack with armed boats and two large barges with heavy bombards, with the object of viewing the men who rallied at the alarm, and seeing where they had stationed their artillery, and how they managed their defence." For your Portuguese filibuster of the sixteenth century, while he recognised the awful finger of God guiding him in even his most unjustifiable actions, took care that it should lose nothing of its force through any neglect on his part to "keep his powder dry."

All being now ready, and the mind of the great Alfonso determined upon war, councils were held, plans laid, the scheme of attack explained, and two hours before daybreak on the feast of St. James, July 25th, 1511, a trumpet on board the viceroy's ship called the men of Portugal to arms. The force which consisted, according to the chroniclers, of only 800 Portuguese and 200 natives of Malabar armed with swords and shields, was divided into three bodies which delivered a simultaneous assault upon the northern and southern quarters of the city, and upon the bridge by which they were connected. Sounding their trumpets, and shouting their war-cry of

चेटी —(क) पिअं मे, अमुदंकणाडअं संवुत्तं।

गणिका —(ख) एहि इमं अळङ्कारं गह्णिअ अय्यचारुदत्तं अभिसरिस्सामो।

चेटी —(ग) अज्जुए! तह। एदं पुण अभिसारिआसहाअभूदं दुद्दिणं उण्णमिदं।

गणिका —(घ) हदासे! मा हु वड्ढावेहि।

चेटी —(ङ) एदु एदु अज्जुआ।

(निष्क्रान्ते।)

चतुर्थोऽङ्कः।

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‡अवसितं चारुदत्तम्।

शुभं भूयात्।

(क) प्रियं मेऽमृताङ्कनाटकं संवृत्तम्।

(ख) एहीममलङ्कारं गृहीत्वार्यचारुदत्तमभिसरिष्यावः।

(ग) अज्जुके! तथा। एतत् पुनरभिसारिकासहायभूतं दुर्दिनमुन्नमितम्।

(घ) हताशे! मा खलु वर्धय।

(ङ) एत्वेत्वज्जुका।

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१. 'आ। (इति नि) क. पाठः.

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‡ पदद्वयमिदं ख. पुस्तके न दृश्यते।

Sanctiago! (St. James!) the Portuguese rushed to the attack, "and on this," says de Barros, "the air was rent with a confusion of noises, so that the trumpets, the cannon, and the shouts could not be distinguished from one another, the whole forming a doomsday of fear and terror."

The Malays and the Muhammadan traders who fought with them resisted stoutly, though the mosque and many of the stockades were won from them, and the white men began to entrench themselves upon the ground gained. All day long the battle waged, and the Portuguese toiled at the construction of their defences under the merciless Malayan sun, but gloss it over though they will, the chroniclers are forced to admit that in the end the assault failed, and that by nightfall all the Europeans had been obliged to withdraw to their ships, bearing many dead and wounded with them.

One cannot but marvel at the stubborn courage of these filibusters, battling here under a tropical sun at a distance of thousands of miles from their base; bearding the mightiest of the kings of Malaya in his very stronghold; and daring to oppose their puny numbers to the fighting strength of a town whose population was estimated at 100,000 souls. It was a stupendous enterprise, almost insolent in its scorn of opposing odds, and no parallels to it are found in history save in the story of the European conquests of the earth. The supreme self-confidence which alone could inspire such audacity as this, the reckless courage, and the pride which held the power of the enemy so cheap, no less than the wonderful

श्लोकानुक्रमणिका ।

energy which made success a possibility, would seem to be qualities which are developed to the full only in the European character, which can be communicated to the Oriental only when he is upheld by the leadership of white men in whom he trusts. If the traditional reward of the meek has fallen to the lot of the white nations, it is not through meekness that they have inherited the earth.

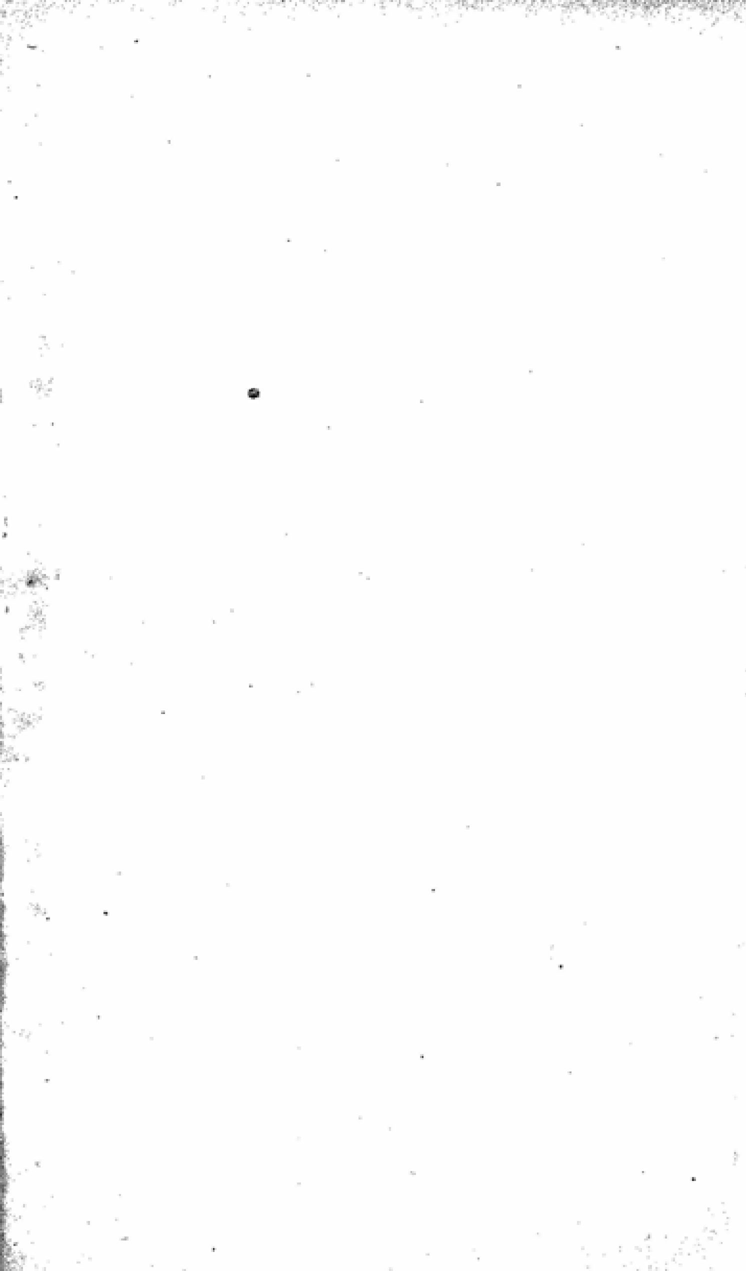
After the first abortive assault upon Malacca there followed a period of nine days during which Dalboquerque instituted a rigorous blockade of the place with a view to starving it into submission. Once more the slender band of Portuguese adventurers flung itself at the teeming native city, and this time the bridge, which was throughout the key to the entire position, was wrested from the Malays, and they and their allies were routed. On each occasion the Sultan of Malacca had himself taken an active part in the fighting, and in the *mêlée* the elephant upon which he was mounted was badly hurt, whereupon, says de Barros, "feeling the pain of its wound, it seized the negro that guided it with its trunk, and dashed him to the ground, on which the king, wounded in the hand, dismounted, and not being recognised, effected his escape." And thus Malacca fell, and passed for ever out of the keeping of the Malays, though it was destined to be reft from Portugal by Holland, from Holland by Great Britain, to be surrendered once more to the Dutch for a little space, and to come finally into the hands of England.

"In this second time of taking the city," says the

author of the *Commentaries*, "many of our men were wounded, and some of those who were wounded with poison died, but all the others were cured, because Alfonso Dalboquerque took very good care to give orders for their cure, and of the Moors, women and children, there died by the sword an infinite number, for no quarter was given to any of them."

The city having now fallen into his hands, and being, as Dalboquerque rightly foresaw, the beginning of yet another empire in the East, he next set himself, with all his accustomed energy, ruthlessness, shrewdness and wisdom, to the task of consolidating the power of Portugal in the newly won possession.

Order was also taken for the organisation of the government of Malacca; a coinage was instituted; a governor was appointed; and the Javanese headman, Utemutaraja, a man of ninety years of age, and his sons, being suspected of a conspiracy against the conquerors, were publicly executed by way of a salutary example to all malcontents. It was their sheer ruthlessness, and their complete freedom from the trammels of a too exacting sense of justice that alone enabled the Portuguese to hold what they had gotten, and to rule teeming native populations, bound to them by no consciousness of benefits received, who were simply cowed into submission. But it is to these qualities and to the methods whose adoption followed from them that the eventual loss by Portugal of the bulk of her colonial empire is to be traced. She made no friends in Asiatic lands, and when in the fulness of time her European



enemies fell upon her, the men of the brown races, her power over whom she had abused, watched her defeat with jubilant satisfaction, and raised none save reluctant hands in her defence.

But in another direction Dalboquerque showed a sounder and more far-seeing policy. Before the second assault had been delivered, he had allowed the Chinese junks, of which mention has already been made, to start for Canton, only exacting from them a promise that they would put in on their way at the port of Siam. With these traders he despatched one Duarte Fernandez, who had escaped from the captivity which he had shared with Ruy de Araujo and his fellows in Malacca, to act as his ambassador at the Siamese Court. This man was the first European of whom we have any record to visit the ancient capital of Ayutha, some miles further up the Menam River than the modern city of Bangkok, and thus from the fall of Malacca begins also the earliest exploration of Siam by men of the white races.

The rumour of the daring deeds wraught by the Portuguese in Asia had already spread far and wide, travelling with that marvellous speed which is one of the stock wonders of the East, and the King of Siam, between whose subjects and the Malays no love was ever yet lost, hastened to send a return embassy to Dalboquerque, to wish him all success in his adventures in Malacca, and to cement a friendship between the white men and the Court of Ayutha. Dalboquerque in reply despatched a second mission to Siam under one Antonio

de Miranda, who seems to have sailed round the Malay Peninsula as far as Trĕnggânu (Taranque) on the east coast, whence he made his way to Ayutha overland "with horses and draft oxen." Beyond the bare fact that this journey was undertaken no record of it has been preserved to us, but even in our own time it would be long and arduous, and the traveller would have to make his way, mainly by means of the seashore which here is for the most part sandy, through Kĕlantan, Lĕgeh, Pĕtâni, and Sĕnggôra into Lower Siam, and so along the Isthmus of Kra to the Valley of the Menam. It is difficult to believe that such a journey was really performed by a white man as early as the year 1511 or 1512, the more so since sailing craft of many types and various sizes abound on this coast, and afford far superior means of transport to any which in the same regions are found ashore. There is one fact, however, which lends *vraisemblance* to the account given to us by the author of the *Commentaries* concerning the route followed by Antonio de Miranda. The mission to Ayutha would seem to have started from Malacca shortly before Dalboquerque himself set out on his return to India, that is to say in the autumn of 1511, and by that season the northeast monsoon would have begun to make itself felt. Miranda sailed with the Chinese junks as far as Trĕnggânu, and it is almost certain that by the time he reached that port the strong headwinds would have made further navigation to the northward impossible to native vessels. He would then have to make his choice between wintering in Trĕnggânu

and undertaking the arduous march to Ayutha overland, and as the men of his race and age were little apt to be daunted by obstacles, we may perhaps conclude that he decided upon the latter alternative. If this be so, we must hail Antonio de Miranda, who to us is nothing but a name, as the first if the least articulate of the European explorers of Lower Siam and a portion of the Malay Peninsula.

The noise which the invasion of Malacca had occasioned had not been without its effect upon other kingdoms of Malaya, and before ever Dalboquerque sailed for India, embassies reached him from the Sultan of Kampar, whose kingdom was situated on the western shores of Sumatra, who, though he was a son-in-law of the ill-fated Sultan Muhammad Shah, was moved by his fear of "the fury of the Portuguese" to make terms for himself with the conquerors. From Java too came overtures of friendship, dictated by the wholesome dread which the prowess of the Portuguese had inspired, and the Sultan of the Sumatran kingdom of Mĕnangkâbau hastened to follow the example set by his neighbours. Thus Dalboquerque's design to build up Malacca as the centre of trade in southeastern Asia, preserving under the flag of Portugal the position which it had occupied under the rule of its own kings,—a design which he had kept steadily in view from the first—was accomplished with little difficulty, and the conquest of this single port served to establish the power of the aliens upon a firm basis in this region, and through the prestige it brought to them secured immediately a political and commercial

superiority such as had never before been enjoyed by any single kingdom of Malaya.

One other thing was done by the great Alfonso ere he turned back to India and to the warfare which awaited him at Goa. He despatched a fleet of three ships, under the command of Antonio Dabreu, who had received wounds and earned distinction in the assault upon the bridge at Malacca, upon a voyage of discovery in the Malayan Archipelago. "And the instructions which Alfonso Dalboquerque gave to Antonio Dabreu, were, on no account whatever on that voyage to take any prizes, and to go on board of no vessel whatever, nor to consent to any of his men going on shore, but in all the harbours and in all the islands at which he might touch to give presents and gifts to the kings and lords of the country, and for this purpose he ordered there should be given out many pieces of scarlet and velvets of Méca, and many other kinds of merchandise; and, further, he gave orders that the captains should not interfere with a single ship of Malacca or of the other ports (whether they belonged to the Moors or to the Hindoos) which he might meet with in these Clove islands (*i. e.*, the Moluccas) or Apple islands taking in cargo, but rather show them favour and give them as much assistance as he possibly could; and in the same way that such ships as these negotiated for their cargo, so also in like manner was he to act for his cargo, observing all the customs of the respective countries." From which it will be seen that the great Alfonso added the wisdom of a statesman to the reckless daring of a filibuster, and that on occasion even

his religious zeal could yield to considerations of policy.

We possess, unfortunately, no details concerning Dabreu's voyage, though there seems to be some reason to believe that he penetrated sufficiently far to the south-east to lay up his ships for refitting at the island of Amboyna, which lies to the south of the western extremity of the island of Ceram. This would lead us to the inference that the southern coast of Borneo was skirted by Dabreu's fleet, and that the islands of the Celebes and Molucca groups were visited and explored in so far, at any rate, as their principal ports were concerned. Moreover, if Dalboquerque's instructions were obeyed, this voyage of exploration was conducted with a policy and in a spirit which were little common among the adventurers of the early sixteenth century, its object being to attract trade to Malacca instead of the commission of acts of piracy and pillage, wherefore the Portuguese, who had earned a great reputation as warriors, must have been free from molestation, and since they were in no aggressive mood must have sailed whither they would without let or hindrance. This voyage, then, although we possess such scant details concerning it, is an event of importance in the history of exploration in south-eastern Asia, and to its pacific character is largely to be attributed the rapidity with which during the succeeding fifty years the Portuguese traders spread themselves through the ports of Malaya, a matter which we shall have to examine more particularly in the following chapter.

CHAPTER IV

THE EXPLORATIONS OF THE PORTUGUESE

THE circumstances which led to the establishment of the Portuguese Power in Malacca have been examined in the preceding chapter with a minuteness which is only warranted by the fact that this event marks, as has been already observed, the beginning of a new epoch in the exploration of southeastern Asia. Over the explorations which followed upon the settlement of Malacca we shall now have to pass with much less of detail and particularity, partly because considerations of space forbid more elaborate treatment of this single portion of our subject, and partly because the records of many wanderings are lost to us, while those which exist are too often of a very fragmentary character.

From the despatch by Dalboquerque of embassies to Siam, to Java and to several Sumatran kingdoms, and from the launching by him of the exploring fleet to the Moluccas, dates the gradual founding of commercial posts by white adventurers throughout southeastern Asia and the Malayan Archipelago. Malacca stood to each of these as a base of operations; the prestige of Malacca served to protect isolated outposts and individual traders; and the rumour of the wealth which was to be won in these regions speedily caused a host of hungry folk to

quit Portugal in a continuous stream which poured unchecked into the distant East. Riches, rather than power, were the lure which tempted these men away from their fatherland, and in the pursuit of their object no difficulties or hardships sufficed to daunt them, no humanitarian considerations placed restraint upon their actions, and no regard for the rights of person or property vested in their Oriental victims served to shackle their lawlessness or their licence. They kept faith with no man, not even with their native allies; no sense of honour or love of fair-dealing actuated them in their intercourse with the Asiatics, whether questions of policy or of trade were in point; the cruelties which, on occasion, they committed, can only be recalled with horror; their avarice and cupidity were at once shameless and insatiable; and with very few exceptions they abused their power and their positions, seeking none save ignoble, selfish ends. Therefore it is an ugly chapter in the history of the relations of Europe with the East that holds the record of their doings—doings which have bequeathed a legacy of hatred the force of which is not yet wholly spent. But, through all and in spite of all, it is impossible to withhold from these men the tribute that is due to a dauntless courage and a tremendous self-reliance, or to divest them, squalid though many of their actions were, of the cloak of romance which must ever cling about the memories of those who adventured greatly.

Even in the heyday of their extraordinary success the Portuguese in Asia never had at their back the advantage